CHRONICLE

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Motherless children of Rwanda

OUR COVER

A boy named Innocent . . .

Prize-winning UN staff photographer John Isaac in July 1994 accompanied a UN humanitarian aid mission to Rwanda, recording on film the tremendous suffering of the victims of the bloody civil war—the sick and wounded in the refugee camps, the mountains of corpses of anonymous mothers, fathers and children being shovelled into mass graves, the plight of tired families moving slowly along the dusty roads of Rwanda.

Mr. Isaac, whose work for the UN has brought him into many sad, war-torn scenes around the world, said it was in neighbouring Zaire at the Ndosho camp for unaccompanied and orphaned Rwandese children that he witnessed the most poignant of these. Hordes of babies and young children huddled together, crying out insistently for their mothers. A small, skinny boy of about ten, undernourished, dressed in rags, reached out to John and asked him to be his Daddy. "He wrapped himself around my legs, and pleaded with me to adopt him", John says. Then suddenly, the boy became quiet, calm, perhaps realizing that this foreigner could not take him home. "Please come visit me when you come back", the child implored. The boy's name, John says, was Innocent.

The faces of some other motherless children of Rwanda, portrayed on our cover in one of Mr. Isaac's many dramatic photos, reflect the terror of their recent past and stare towards an uncertain future. They wait to hear from parents and relatives they may never see again.

What will become of Rwanda's children? Mr. Isaac asks. Traumatized by the carnage, driven from their homes, separated from their families, whether Tutsi or Hutu, they are the most innocent of victims in this tragedy-stricken Central African nation.

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The 38th Floor

Following are excerpts from statements by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali made between 1 July and 30 September 1994.

UN Photo 185950/E. Debebe

Greeting Yohei Kono, Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister of Japan, at Headquarters on 27 September.

Dialogue and debate . . .

The United Nations is a place of dialogue and debate. It is at the United Nations that we must address the challenge of multilateral diplomacy during the post-cold-war period of transition. At times of great transformation such as this, words and concepts, also, are transformed. Current expressions are provided with new dimensions of meaning. The Chinese philosopher Confucius lived through such a time of vast change—some 2,500 years ago. He said that old words were invested with new meaning. We have a similar need today. Like this great man, we too need to consider "the rectification of names".

Today, three words, among many others, used and abused, come to mind: peace, development, democracy. Peace is the foundation and the goal of the multilateral system. The United Nations was founded following a terrible conflict. The aim of its founders was to ensure that no State took up arms against another State. Today, wars happen within States, not between States. And peace, therefore, has acquired a new definition. Peace between States is the work of diplomats. It is now time to look at peace within States as the work of economists, electoral observers, human rights monitors too. Peace within States is the outcome of successful policies for development and democracy. But the foundations of peace—development and democracy—are also acquiring new dimensions of meaning.

Development, when the United Nations was still in its early years, involved little beyond fostering economic growth. Today, economic growth is still essential. But it is no longer perceived as the only dimension. The links between growth and the environment have led to a global consensus on sustainable development. Next March, at Copenhagen, the world community will debate the social dimension of development. Poverty, unemployment and social exclusion are but some of the threats to peace, should social development fail.

The word "democracy" does not appear in the Charter of the United Nations. But its opening words are "We the peoples of the United Nations". This notion of democracy—political power based on the will of the people—is becoming central to the work of the United Nations. Democracy is not only an ideal, it is a practical necessity. But democracy must not only be within States: It must also be among States. Democracy must break out of the State-centric concept. We must work for the democratization of international relations, we must work for broader democracy within the United Nations.

At a luncheon in honour of Heads of State and Government, New York, 26 September

Public opinion to promote peace . . .

For a long time, the international order was regarded as political and firmly established. Now we must learn to accept and to deal with a world that is both social and mobile. The movement of wealth, people, capital and ideas is as important today as control of territory was yesterday. We, therefore, must build a framework which takes into account not only political issues, but economic behaviour and social and cultural aspirations. Non-governmental organizations are a basic form of popular representation in the present-day world. Their participation in international organizations is, in a way, a guarantee of the political legitimacy of those international organizations.

At the 47th conference of non-governmental organizations, organized by the Department of Public Information, 20 September, New York

Concerned to act . . .

The United Nations cannot intervene on behalf of every troubled nation. It must use its influence and resources with great caution and care. But when Governments face the worst condition or disaster, as in Cambodia, or when all semblance of State authority vanishes, as in Somalia, the international society of States, and its United Nations instrument, must be concerned to act.

It is for the Security Council to decide when and where to undertake United Nations operations. And its decisions should be as broadly representative as possible. At this time, the need for the processes of democratization—for widespread support and participation—is even more obvious and apparent.

On the occasion of the 1994 Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Memorial lecture, New Delhi, India, 9 September

Changing the world . . .

I wish to express to you, the women and men who serve the international community, my appreciation for what you are doing. Under difficult conditions, you are changing the world. What is being achieved has not come without sacrifice. Some have paid the ultimate price. We pay tribute to their memory. Our hearts go out to their families and friends. You, their colleagues, honour them by your tireless work for the better, more peaceful world foreseen in the Charter. You do your duty despite frustration, setbacks and insufficient support. Around the world, day in, day out, United Nations staff do their best, with dedication beyond the call of duty. I think of those who held out in Rwanda through its darkest days. I think of Sarajevo, Gorazde, Mogadishu. There are other examples, too numerous to mention. You serve because you are committed to a great ideal. I want you to know that your dedication is held in the highest esteem.

To the United Nations staff, New York, 23 September

Dignity and worth . . .

The task of the United Nations is not to sanctify poverty, but to abolish it. The lesson of St. Francis of Assisi is relevant to this task. It is a universal message, for all great religious teachers, wherever and whenever they have come forward in the world, that to be true to our humanity and our creator, we must free ourselves from the worship of material goods and become willing to share earthly goods with others less fortunate.

This universal ideal has never been attained, but its power inspires the best aspect of our nature and must be imparted to the work of nations. The Charter of the United Nations makes it clear that, while the Organization is made up of sovereign States, its source of authority comes from the peoples of the world, and its sense of purpose is based upon "the dignity and worth of the human person". One hundred eighty-four nations of the world have subscribed to the Charter, which is therefore a truly universal document.

Increasingly, the international community is focusing on global issues by considering their impact on the individual human being. In a chain of international conferences over the first half of this decade, the world is addressing such issues as the environment, human rights, population, social development, housing and women's rights. In all of them, the common ground, and therefore the emphasis and the starting point, is the worth of the individual.

To the "Friends of God, Witnesses of Peace" organization, Assisi, Italy, 12 September

Thirst for democracy . . .

A great deal has been written, and many words have been spoken, about the collapse of bipolarity and the ending of the cold war. In some ways, we are still trying to comprehend the magnitude of the changes which have taken place in the international system in the course of the past few years. It is, however, becoming clear that underlying all those upheavals was a single phenomenon: a sudden, powerful movement among the peoples of the world for a say in the key decisions affecting their daily lives.

No country is exempt from this great thirst for democracy. It is a worldwide movement, affecting North and South, East and West. Established democracies, whose systems had become unresponsive to demographic pressures, have been as much affected as autocracies of left or of right. The old international order was swept away by a tidal wave of democratization. So it is not surprising that, today, it is increasingly being understood that democracy is one of the pillars on which a fair and effective international system must rest.

To the Second International Conference for New and Restored Democracies, Managua, Nicaragua, 4 July

'Genocidal slaughter' claims as many as 1 million

UN Photos/John Isaac

UN authorizes 'Operation Turquoise' to protect displaced persons

Citing a "horrifying loss of human life and the suffering of an entire people", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has called the ongoing tragedy in Rwanda "one of the most hideous events in recent times".

He estimated that the "victims of genocidal slaughter" in the mountainous Central African nation could number as many as 1 million. The "protracted violence" in Rwanda had created "an almost unprecedented humanitarian crisis", he warned.

The victims—dead and alive.

'The agony of a small country'

UN Photos/John Isaac

Refugees endure the squalor of the camps.

The bullets and machetes that drove them there.

The children often fend for themselves.

In reporting on UN involvement in the aftermath of a bloody, three-month long civil conflict, which followed the deaths of the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi on 6 April in an airplane crash near Rwanda's capital of Kigali, the Secretary-General described the "agony of a small country which is having to endure the massacre of a substantial portion of its population". By early October, it had been estimated that Rwanda's pre-war population of 7.9 million had fallen to 5 million. Between 800,000 and 2 million survivors were internally displaced; another 2 million Rwandese had fled to neighbouring countries.

"It is all the more tragic that the international community hesitated for so long to intervene", Mr. Boutros-Ghali declared, despite the fact that most UN Member States had signed the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

The Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, on 3 August, expressed profound regret that the international community was "so unforgivably late" in its efforts to prevent the human tragedy and genocide from occurring in Rwanda.

Some UN bodies echoed this judgement. The Commission on Human Rights' Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on 9 August demanded an end to the suffering, citing "tardy and insufficiently effective intervention" by the international community.

"To make amends for the delays", the Secretary-General stated in his 3 August report *(S/1994/924)*, "the international community, at the very least, must ensure" that those individuals responsible in their personal and official capacities "for unleashing and instigating this cataclysm are brought to justice". It must also "do everything in its power to alleviate the appalling human suffering in the refugee camps" in Zaire, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda and Burundi.

On 22 June, the Security Council had authorized the deployment of a temporary multinational force to Rwanda to contribute to the security and pro-

tection of displaced persons, refugees and civilians at risk. "Operation Turquoise"—comprising more than 3,000 troops from France and seven African nations—was in place until the end of August, during which time it performed reconnaissance tasks, ensured the security of a "safe humanitarian zone", assisted displaced persons, and extricated persons at risk.

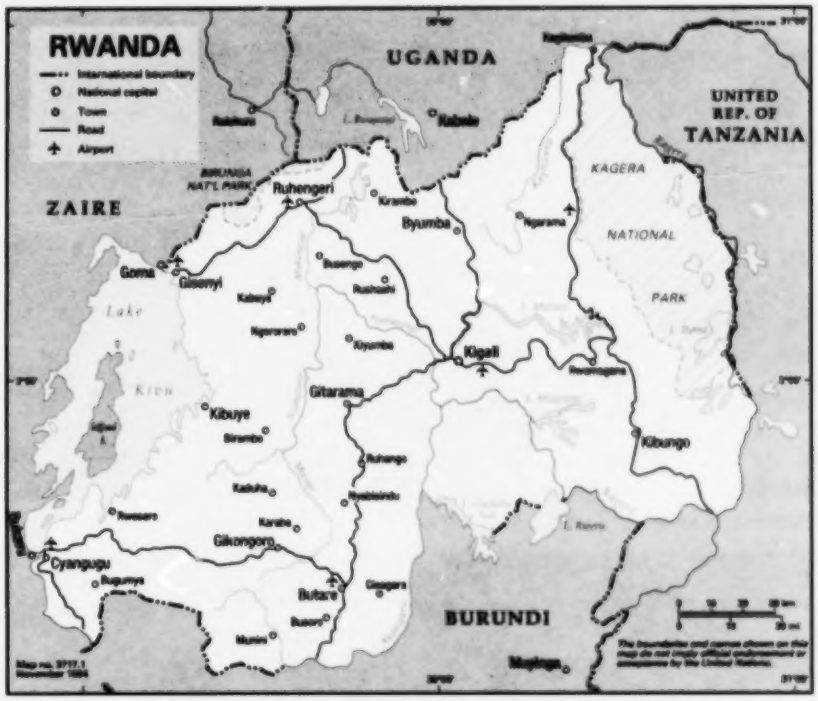
It was "hard to describe the horrors faced by those who have fled Rwanda", the Secretary-General stated. The "pace of developments and the sheer number of people overwhelmed the capacities of the humanitarian organizations, which were striving valiantly against impossible odds." Among the obstacles were: a widespread cholera outbreak, attributed largely to water supplies contaminated by unburied corpses; dwindling food supplies; poor road conditions hampering delivery of aid; and the absence of internal security.

The Security Council on 1 July, referring to reports of "systematic" massacres and killings in Rwanda, asked for the appointment of an "impartial Commission of Experts" to provide conclusions on the evidence of grave violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda, including the evidence of possible acts of genocide.

Civil war ends, new Government formed

Also on 1 July, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali expressed deep concern over the continued fighting in Rwanda and that the advance of the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF) troops "might provoke a mass exodus of civilian populations to neighbouring countries". He called for a cease-fire and a halt to military operations, and stressed that "only the resumption of the political dialogue would restore peace and normalcy to Rwanda".

On 14 July, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Sadako Ogata reported that, during the night, some 100,000 people had crossed from Rwanda into Goma, Zaire. More were moving towards the border to escape



fighting as it spread into the strongholds of the "interim Government" in the north-west, it was noted.

Stressing that "unless this exodus of population ceases, the stability of the whole region will be endangered, unleashing a humanitarian catastrophe without precedent in Africa", the Secretary-General on 14 July issued an urgent appeal to the parties to the conflict for an immediate cease-fire. His call was echoed by the Security Council in a presidential statement. Meeting that same day in response to a request by France, Council members expressed alarm at the continuation of fighting, which was causing a massive population exodus. "This situation may lead very quickly to a further humanitarian disaster and endanger the stability of the region" since the refugee flow was "seriously affecting the neighbouring countries", they stated.

Also urged was the resumption of the political process in the framework of the 4 August 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement. Member States, UN agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) were asked to mobilize all available resources in order to provide humanitarian assistance to the civilian population. Parties to the conflict were invited to report to the Force Commander of the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) on their actions in implementing a cease-fire.

It was reported on 18 July that the "interim Government", formed after the outbreak of strife in April, had fled the country and that the RPF had established effective control over most of Rwanda. It declared a cease-fire, effectively bringing the civil war to an end.

On 19 July, the Broad-based Government of National Unity was formed. The Secretary-General asked it to make every effort to reassure members of the population who had fled, or were in the process of doing so, that their security would be assured and they should return to their homes.

'Operation Turquoise'

The French-commanded "Operation Turquoise" was launched on 22 June and first deployed to the towns of Goma and Bukavu in Zaire. In authorizing the temporary force, the Security Council, in resolution 929 (1994), stressed the humanitarian purpose of the operation, the duration of which was limited to a two-month period, unless the Secretary-General determined before then that

an expanded UNAMIR was able to carry out its mandate.

France, in a 5 July report *(S/1994/795)* on "Operation Turquoise", noted that the RPF advance had led to a further flow of refugees. On 2 July, a "safe humanitarian zone" for refugees had been created within the Cyangugu-Kibuye-Gikongoro triangle in south-west Rwanda, covering one fifth of the country's territory. France said its forces had "demonstrated impartiality in the field by rescuing many Hutu and Tutsi Rwandese from certain death"—an impartiality that was beginning to be recognized by the RPF, it added. Noting the difficulties involved in controlling the "extremely tense military situation", France urged participation by third countries in the operation.

In a second report *(S/1994/933)* on 4 August, France reported that the force's activities had been widened to include collection and burial of the victims of epidemics or starvation, and transportation and distribution of water and food.

"Operation Turquoise" concluded on 21 August. In a final report *(S/1994/1100)* of 26 September on the Operation, France said the 3,000-strong "Turquoise" force included troops from Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, Chad, Mauritania, Egypt, Niger and Congo. The Force had "put an end to the massacres in Rwanda and ensured the protection of the population" in the safe humanitarian zone, the report stated.

The presence of the "Turquoise" force had also made it possible to conduct international humanitarian activities, since prior to its arrival, no agency had been able to conduct significant activities in the area held by the former Rwandese Government. France also stated that the force had been able to gather reports of abuses against the population.

France speaks

In an address to the Security Council on 11 July, French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur said France had had a "moral duty" to act without delay to stop the genocide and provide immediate assistance to the threatened populations. "Without swift action, the survival of an entire country was at stake and the stability of a region seriously compromised", he said.

Reporting on the progress of Operation Turquoise in the three weeks since the adoption of resolution 929 (1994), Mr. Balladur stressed that its humanitarian goals had been "largely achieved". The massacres had almost completely stopped in areas protected by French troops. In addition, a large volume of humanitarian supplies had been delivered, and almost a million refugees were currently being protected in the safe humanitarian zone by "Turquoise" forces.

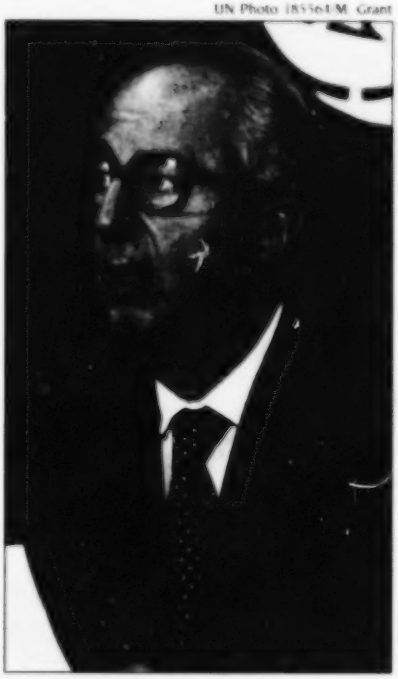
However, the "vast extent" of the country's needs exceeded the capacity of France and the countries working with it. At the humanitarian level, "only firm action" by States, UN humanitarian organizations and NGOs could "prevent hunger and sickness from following upon the massacres", Prime Minister Balladur said.

Parallel with the humanitarian aid effort which France was seeking, reinforcements for UNAMIR should be deployed as soon as possible. French and Senegalese forces in Rwanda could not take the place of an operation established by the Council. "That is not their mission, nor is it the intention of the French Government", he stated.

Only the presence of a sizeable UN force, he went on to say, would make it possible to begin Rwanda's recovery by promoting a return to stability and the expansion of humanitarian action. He therefore appealed to the international community to "do everything possible to enable the strengthened UNAMIR to be deployed quickly".

The "fate of a people and a country" depended on the ability to ensure that the UN peace-keeping mission was successfully carried out, he concluded. Declaring that France had had to act "to help a martyred people", Mr. Balladur called it "imperative now" that the "Turquoise" effort be assumed by the international community as a whole.

UN Photo 185561/M. Grant



French Prime Minister Balladur at Headquarters on 11 July.

More support needed for UNAMIR

In his 3 August report, the Secretary-General stated that the RPF had established military control over most of the country. The "ultimate political aim" had to be the installation of a broad-based system of government that would give "all elements of society, irrespective of ethnic origin or social level, a sense of security and a stake in the country". The Arusha Peace Agreement provided principles and a broad framework for establishing such a system, he said.

That pact between the former Government of Rwanda and the RPF called for a democratically-elected government and establishment of a broad-based transitional Government until elections. Both wanted a UN multinational force to help implement it. The Council subsequently established UNAMIR on 5 October by resolution 872 (1993).

UN Photo/John Isaac

Rwandan refugees in flight.

UNAMIR's "foremost priority" since the outbreak of the conflict, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said, had been to bring about a cease-fire and a halt to the carnage. Those efforts had intensified since early June, when the two sides initiated cease-fire talks at the military level under the auspices of UNAMIR.

The Secretary-General's new Special Representative, Shaharyar Khan, who had arrived in the Rwandan capital of Kigali on 4 July, had had contacts with the leadership of both parties and had emphasized the importance of a cease-fire, especially with a view to preventing further exacerbation of the humanitarian crisis. Cease-fire negotiations, however, remained stalled until 17 July, when former Rwandese government soldiers withdrew into Zaire and the RPF forces took control of Gisenyi in northwest Rwanda, in and around which the retreating forces had concentrated.

With the situation on the ground having "changed radically over the past few weeks", the Secretary-General reported that UNAMIR had adjusted its operational plans to cope with the new circumstances.

Its principal tasks now included: ensuring stability and security in the north-western and south-western regions; stabilizing and monitoring the situation in all regions of Rwanda to encourage the return of refugees and displaced persons; providing security and support for humanitarian assistance operations inside the country; and promoting, through mediation and good offices, national reconciliation.

Even with "severely limited resources", UNAMIR had been able to deploy a company along the border near Goma, as well as a number of observers in that region and in the zone controlled by "Operation Turquoise". The principal areas of concern were in the north-west to resettle returning refugees and in the south-west to avert possible outbreaks of violence, the report stated.

"Substantial numbers" of the former Rwandese government forces and militia, as well as extremist elements suspected of involvement in the massacres of the Hutu opposition and RPF supporters, were "mingled with refugees in Zaire" and were reported trying to prevent their return. It was more volatile in the south-west, where armed elements of the former government forces had sought refuge in the French-protected zone.

'Deliberate massacres'

The Secretary-General stressed that the "failure of Member States to reinforce the military component of UNAMIR with the necessary speed severely limited its capacity to reduce the human suffering that accompanied the civil conflict and the deliberate massacres of civilians, mainly members of the Hutu opposition and supporters of the RPF".

In a 1 August letter *(S/1994/923)*, Mr. Boutros-Ghali noted that the offers of several Governments to provide troops for UNAMIR had been conditional, entailing "complicated efforts to match troops from one country with equipment from another". As of 25 July, less than 500 troops had been deployed. The delays, the Secretary-General said, had "contributed to the catastrophe which we now countenance". He reiterated his "urgent request in the strongest terms" to Governments to provide the essential reinforcements for UNAMIR. Rwanda would continue to need the help of the international community for the foreseeable future and the Secretary-General was "convinced" that resources did exist. What was required was the "political will in the countries around the world coalescing into a collective political will at the United Nations". At 3 October, UNAMIR's troop strength stood at 4,270 all ranks.

The Security Council, in a 10 August statement, welcomed the Secretary-General's intention "to adapt UNAMIR's practical tasks to the evolving situation". The Council, maintaining that the Mission's full deployment would be important in establishing a more secure environment, said it was "essential" that the contingents that were to be part of UNAMIR be deployed without delay and that the technical assistance they required be provided to them as soon as possible.

It reaffirmed that the Arusha Peace Agreement constituted an appropriate frame of reference for promoting national reconciliation in Rwanda and reminded the new Government of its responsibility for bringing its people together again.

Major-General Guy Tousignant of Canada was named the new Force Commander of UNAMIR as of 15 August, succeeding Major-General Romeo A. Dallaire.

'The agony of a small country'

UNOMUR closes

The UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) was officially closed on 21 September. Established on 22 June 1993, UNOMUR was mandated to deploy on the Ugandan side of the border with Rwanda and verify that no military assistance reached that country. One goal was to help create an atmosphere conducive to a negotiated settlement of the Rwandese conflict.

In a 19 September report *(S/1994/1073)*, the Secretary-General said the Mission had played a useful role as a confidence-building mechanism, especially "during UNAMIR's initial efforts to defuse tensions between the Rwandese parties and to facilitate the implementation of that agreement".

After the resumption of the civil war in April 1994, UNOMUR also played an important role in supporting the deployment of the expanded UNAMIR and the coordination of humanitarian activities in Rwanda, the report said. That role had been performed at a critical time when the resumed fighting had made the use of the airport at Kigali difficult and, later, impossible.

Humanitarian crisis

On 14 July, voicing its concern that fighting in Rwanda was causing a mass exodus of the population which might endanger regional stability, the Security Council issued its call for an immediate cease-fire and urged the urgent mobilization of "all available resources" to provide humanitarian assistance.

Describing the tragedy as assuming "unimaginable proportions", the Secretary-General on 22 July launched the UN Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Persons Affected by the Crisis in Rwanda, prepared by the new UN Rwanda Emergency Office (UNREO). Mr. Boutros-Ghali said the international community had been confronted with tribal genocide for months, and must respond urgently to "a new kind of genocide—by hunger, by thirst, by disease".

UN agencies and humanitarian organizations faced an unprecedented crisis, he said. Without substantial financial support, "we shall not be able to meet the humanitarian challenge that faces us". He entreated the international community to respond generously and quickly.

The Secretary-General also announced that he would send Peter Hansen, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs and Emergency Relief Coordinator, to head a relief assessment mission "to conduct an on-the-spot evaluation of the status of relief operations" in Rwanda and the region, and ensure that adequate coordination mechanisms were in place.

Under-Secretary-General Hansen also presided over a pledging conference on 2 August in Geneva. He cited three major tasks: meeting immediate life-saving needs in the hardest hit areas; establishing and facilitating conditions for the safe return of refugees; and ensuring a smooth transition in the humanitarian protected zone as the French-led multinational force withdrew.

By 1 September, donors had provided 70 per cent of the $552 million required by UN agencies to fund assistance. Donors had also made additional relief contributions, either bilaterally or through non-governmental organizations. In his 3 August report, the Secretary-General cited a fourth humanitarian task which remained to be addressed: to restore basic infrastructure in Rwanda. He urged governments with the necessary resources to apply them to Rwanda's reconstruction and rehabilitation.

UN Photo/John Isaac

An orphan of the war.

On 20 July, a UNHCR representative, introducing the agency's report *(E/1994/41)*, told the Economic and Social Council that the "greatest tragedies" had resulted from the political and ethnic conflicts in Rwanda and Burundi. UNHCR was coordinating a massive emergency assistance operation in cooperation with the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs, the World Food Programme (WFP), the International Organization for Migration, the UN Development Programme, the UN Children's Fund, the World Health Organization and NGOs.

In its 10 August statement, the Security Council said the most immediate task was to respond to the "massive humanitarian crisis" created by the population movements. Member States, UN agencies, NGOs and individuals were encouraged to intensify their humanitarian efforts.

The rapid return of refugees and displaced persons was "essential for the normalization of the situation", and it welcomed the declared readiness of the new Government of Rwanda to encourage their return, ensure their protection and legal rights, and allow aid to reach those who required it anywhere in the country. Council members condemned attempts to intimidate refugees in order to prevent them from returning.

On 19 August, the Secretary-General briefed the Council in a closed meeting that the UN would probably have to maintain its presence in Rwanda for years if the country were to recover from its ordeal, a UN official reported. Military personnel would be needed, in addition to humanitarian workers, in view of the security conditions, he said.

Given the "significant spill-over of the crisis engulfing Rwanda", the Secretary-General on 1 September announced his decision to pursue more vigorously a regional approach to address the problems and its consequences for Burundi, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda and Zaire. Robert Sherwood Dillon, the

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INTERVIEW

Witnessing 'the worst of times'

With fighting raging in and around Rwanda's capital city of Kigali, Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Peter Hansen on 23 April led an inter-agency advance humanitarian team there shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, to initiate aid efforts in close collaboration with the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR). Efforts to gain access to World Food Programme food stocks, however, were repeatedly blocked by hostile fire.

During a second mission, from 24 to 28 July, following the formation of the new Government, Mr. Hansen took steps to ensure coordination measures were in place. These included a clear division of responsibilities among UN organizations, an overall strategy to meet the extraordinary humanitarian challenge before them, and a decision to move the headquarters of the UN Rwanda Emergency Office from Nairobi to Kigali. In meetings with the new Government, Mr. Hansen and the Secretary-General's Special Representative to Rwanda, Shaharyar Khan, secured commitments to encourage refugees to return to Rwanda, ensure their protection, and permit full access to all those in need in Rwanda. The following are excerpts from Mr. Hansen's recent interview with the *UN Chronicle*.

UN Photo 186762/John Isaac

At a briefing in Kigali: Mr. Hansen *(second from right)* with *(from left)* Force Commander Romeo Dallaire, Special Representative Shaharyar Khan and Arturo Hein, head of the UN Rwanda Emergency Office.

How did conditions in Rwanda differ during the April and July missions?

In April, we came in during the worst of the times. Kigali was a war zone and UNAMIR forces were being pulled out. In fact, the team had to fly into Kigali on empty planes returning to pick up more UN soldiers to bring them back to Nairobi, Kenya. Fighting was going on in and around the capital. The airport was itself part of the battle zone. The city was virtually deserted, except for militias and others terrorizing the population. There were perhaps between 12,000 and 15,000 people in Kigali, and they were scared—mainly Tutsis and moderate Hutus massed together in the stadium and in King Faisal Hospital. They were living under indescribable conditions: there was literally no floor place at the Hospital for the sick; they had insufficient food, no access to water, no basic sanitation. They lived under the most terrible physical conditions and under the terror of shells and grenades that were being lobbed into the stadium and at the Hospital. People were killed in several instances by the weapons fire.

You could not see much of Kigali then. The only way to move around was by armoured personnel carriers or APCs. Bodies were littered all around. What could be done at the time was very limited, but we did manage to put in the Team, who stayed on during the worst of the fighting.

The remaining UNAMIR forces, numbering about 400, carried on their absolutely heroic work under the leadership of General Dallaire, the Force Commander at the time. They did everything possible to assist the Team in its humanitarian task, including helping it make its way through the front lines to negotiate with the advancing RPF army in the north and the retreating Rwandese Government Army in the south concerning arrangements for delivering aid across the border—in the north from Uganda and in the south from Burundi—into their respective territories. It was crucial that we had that Team there, that we had that access, so there could be some organization in the delivery of food and other aid. Cooperation among the agencies and the non-governmental organizations was tested, and it stood the test very well. There was total cooperation from everybody.

In July, the situation was quite different. Most of the country, except for the south-western sector, had by then

been taken over by the RPF, and the region was faced with a massive outflow of refugees. The fastest "flash flood" of refugees ever was into Ngara, United Republic of Tanzania, where the ability of the international community to cope with such an unprecedented flow was tested again. By miracle and the hard work of everyone concerned, Ngara was organized as a refugee population that, in effect, constituted the second largest city in Tanzania.

Had anybody predicted at that time that the international community could have coped as well as it did with an outflow that was more than twice as large as that into Goma, no one would have believed it. It was an overwhelming situation. But in the weeks that followed, the massive influx of aid helped to establish the camps—however squalid and unsatisfactory they were—which helped save a lot of lives.

There was also a great contrast in Kigali between April and July. By July, life in the city was beginning to return to "normal"—if you can use that term about a country that has gone through what Rwanda went through. People were trickling back into a city that had been a ghost town just a few months before. The marketplace was beginning to come alive with people trading whatever little they had to trade.

The contrast with Goma in Zaire was particularly great. Bodies were piled everywhere in Goma. You couldn't turn without seeing dozens, many dozens, of bodies. It was at the time of the cholera outbreak, which caused so many casualties that there was even a crisis in burying the bodies of the victims.

Was there any one scene that you will never forget?

Probably the most terrible picture had to do with the demonstrations in Goma at the time directed against the refugees. Roadblocks were being set up by the demonstrators, and the most available material to build the roadblocks were the corpses, which were being stacked across the road to hinder traffic.

Were there other indicators then that the security situation in the camps would have evolved in the direction we are now seeing? Could anything have been done?

There were certainly indicators of that. During the press conference I gave while visiting, there was unrest outside the tent in which the conference was taking place. Some militia groups were apparently dissatisfied with the answers that this UN official was giving. And whatever it was they did not like in my answers, they began making moves toward the tent. I had to be hustled out the back to avoid an incident and possible attack—something which in itself indicated an emerging security problem.

In order to cope with the extreme situation, the international agencies had to rely very much on the structures that had been, as it were, "exported" from Rwanda—particularly from the north-west, the core of Hutu extremism. In order to have a minimum of organization and of mechanisms for distributing the food, there had to be a great reliance on those structures: the old prefectures, the officials and the leaders. This was done to meet the urgent needs of the situation, but it also helped to reinforce those structures and make the refugee populations an instrument or weapon in the hands of the people who were behind the Hutu extremism, who were behind the genocide that had been perpetrated inside Rwanda.

You indicated that this emergency had also been a good test of the cooperation possible between non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and UN humanitarian agencies. Can you enlighten us on some of the major difficulties that have arisen in coordinating humanitarian relief among those various agencies and NGOs?

Well, given the sheer number of UN agencies and NGOs involved and the differences in their locations and mandates, you are certainly dealing with a very high degree of complexity. However, from day one, they collaborated intensively with each other. Whatever the differences in interpretation of what each could do, all knew it was essential that everyone work together in a joint effort—which they did.

My second mission was unusual in so far as there was a great interest on the part of NGOs to join it. And major NGOs did join, at very senior levels. Throughout, it was a team effort. We worked together, irrespective of whether we came from a UN agency or from a non-governmental organization.

By mid-July, a dangerous scenario looked as if it might unfold in the south-west. We knew the French-led multinational force, "Operation Turquoise", was to withdraw at a certain time. We also knew that unless we acted, once that happened, the more than 1 million internally displaced people in the zone would very likely walk across the border to Bukavu, where there were already 450,000 to 500,000 refugees. Then, we would have had an even greater catastrophe on our hands than the one in Goma. So, in identifying this risk early on, the mission was able to make certain judgments as to where the efforts of the international community would be best concentrated.

I think it is one of the untold stories of Rwanda that, indeed, that catastrophe did not occur. This was because it was one of those instances where we could foresee what was coming, and do something to prevent it. By getting all the UN agencies and NGOs together to focus on the south-west, the area was flooded with international organizations bringing relief supplies. That also served as a visible sign to the people in the zone that life would be sustained there as "Operation Turquoise" withdrew.

It was a case where we were successful in prevention, and there was no catastrophe to report. But if we were always successful in prevention, there would not be the resources coming in that were needed. Because if you don't see the terrible things, well, what is there to worry about? ■

(continued from page 9)

Secretary-General's Special Humanitarian Envoy for Rwanda and Burundi, was asked to examine the merits of a broader, more comprehensive regional approach. Mr. Dillon visited the area from 8 to 22 September.

Commission of Experts

After adopting resolution 935 (1994) on 1 July, calling for creation of an expert commission to investigate violations of humanitarian law in Rwanda, the Security Council was informed *(S/1994/879)* on 26 July of the Secretary-General's decision to establish such a body.

Commission members—Chairman Atsu-Koffi Amega of Togo, Mrs. Habi Dieng of Guinea and Salifou Fomba of Mali—in a preliminary report on 30 September, stated there was ample evidence that individuals from both sides had perpetrated serious breaches of international humanitarian law and committed crimes against humanity.

"Overwhelming evidence" existed to prove that acts of genocide against the Tutsi group had been perpetrated by Hutu elements in a "concerted, planned, systematic and methodical way". To that point, the Commission had not uncovered any evidence that Tutsi elements had perpetrated acts "committed with intent to destroy the Hutu ethnic group" as such within the meaning of the 1948 Genocide Convention.

The Commission recommended that the Council act to ensure that the individuals responsible for the serious human rights violations were brought to justice before an international criminal tribunal.

The Council, in a 10 August presidential statement, encouraged the new Rwandese Government to cooperate with the UN, in particular with the Commission of Experts, in ensuring that those guilty of atrocities committed in Rwanda, including the crime of genocide, "are brought to justice through an appropriate mechanism or mechanisms which will ensure fair and impartial trials".

The Council action was based on the Secretary-General's 3 August report, stating that the international community, "at the very least," must ensure that those individuals responsible for "unleashing and instigating this cataclysm are brought to justice".

Other human rights matters

On 25 July, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1994/867)* on the human rights violations in Rwanda, in line with Council resolution 918 (1994) of 17 May.

It was estimated that several hundreds of thousands of Rwandans, the majority innocent civilians, including women and children, had been killed since April. While many were said to have lost their lives, caught up in combat or during indiscriminate attacks against civilian settlements, "large-scale killings of civilians by Government forces" were also reported from areas far removed from the hostilities between those forces and the RPF.

Available evidence strongly suggested the killings were carried out in a "planned and concerted manner". Radio stations close to the former government were reported to have broadcast programmes inciting violence and extrajudicial killings. "Massive killings" continued throughout the period since 6 April, he said. Reports had also been received concerning summary or arbitrary executions carried out by RPF forces, in what were described as "acts of revenge".

René Degni-Ségui of Côte d'Ivoire, the Special Rapporteur appointed by the Commission on Human Rights to investigate first hand the human rights situation in Rwanda, undertook two missions to that country and some neighbouring States from 9 to 20 June and from 29 to 31 July.

In his first report, Mr. Degni-Ségui stated that the massacres seemed to have been planned, systematic in nature and carried out under "atrocious, appallingly cruel, conditions". The events "undoubtedly constitute grave and massive violations of human rights", he said. In a second report, he said "all the signs" were that the mass exodus had been "forced and planned". Despite "distressing and tragic" conditions in the refugee camps, refugees' fears of returning were being "nurtured" by the former Government in exile and by its Radio Télévision Libre des Milles Collines. Reporting various measures taken by the new Government to encourage their return, the Special Rapporteur also put forward a plan of action recommending the urgent deployment of 20 UN human rights experts, with another 150 to 200 to be deployed as soon as possible for at least six months, to monitor the return of refugees and the reconstruction of the country, as well as to inquire into rights violations *(A/49/508-S/1994/1157)*.

On 7 September, William Clarance was named head of the UN Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda. He was to direct and coordinate the work of human rights monitors as well as investigators and forensic experts examining serious human rights violations in that country.

A five-member investigative team was dispatched to Kigali in mid-September to gather evidence to identify persons "most culpable and responsible for grave violations of international humanitarian law, including genocide". The team, provided by the United States, was to work within the framework of the human rights field operation in Rwanda.

The Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities on 9 August demanded "rapid and complete disarmament of the militias and extremist elements of the former Rwandese forces" and stressed that an international effort should be made to bring to trial the perpetrators of those crimes.

In a 28 September letter *(S/1994/1115)*, the new Government of Rwanda reaffirmed its commitment to providing peace and security and encouraging refugees to return. It declared that refugees were "hindered from returning owing to this harassment prevailing in camps in the countries of asylum".

Other issues

A joint Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) and WFP crop assessment mission reported on 29 August that the number of Rwandans to receive food aid inside the country was expected to rise by 1 million, to 2.5 million over the next five months. Under normal conditions, Rwanda, largely self-sufficient in food, would require seed, cuttings, fertilizer and basic tools for the agricultural season beginning in September.

A WFP emergency team visiting southern Rwanda on 18 July warned of a potential "humanitarian and ecological disaster", resulting from displaced persons settling randomly throughout the entire area, destroying woods and exhausting local food supplies.

A mission from the UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat) and the UN Environment Programme, which was in Kigali from 7 to 14 September, drew up plans of action in five areas: urban infrastructure and housing, including road repair, water and electricity; urban environment, including protecting such resources as water and waste disposal; employment and the local economy; environmental interaction between city and countryside; and urban management. Experts would be cooperating with the UN Development Fund for Women's (UNIFEM) "Women in Crisis" project.

Presidency of the Security Council

The Security Council stated that its presidency in September should be held by Spain instead of Rwanda. In a statement issued on 25 August, the Council said it had decided to suspend the operation of rule 18 of its provisional rules of procedure, which stipulated that the Council presidency is held in turn by members according to the English alphabetical order of country names. Rwanda would assume the presidency in December, it was reported later. ■

The UN and Rwanda

1993

22 February: Rwanda and Uganda call for military observers to be deployed along common border, after renewal of heavy fighting in the north between the Government and the RPF.

16 March: Interrupted peace talks resume in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania.

22 June: The Security Council adopts resolution 846 (1993), establishing UN Observer Mission Uganda-Rwanda (UNOMUR) on Ugandan side of border.

4 August: Warring parties sign peace agreement in Arusha, calling for a democratically-elected government and a broad-based transitional government until the elections. They also request a neutral international force to help implement the agreement.

5 October: The Security Council by resolution 872 (1993) establishes the UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), stressing the urgency of an international neutral force, and integrates UNOMUR within it. Mandate to end following elections and installation of new government.

1994

5 January: Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana sworn in as President of Rwanda. Establishment of a transitional Government and National Assembly delayed.

6 April: Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi killed in a plane crash a day after the Security Council extends UNAMIR. Hostilities break out.

8 April: Provisional Government disintegrates and "interim Government" proclaimed, but is later forced from the capital as fighting intensifies.

21 April: By resolution 912, the Council adjusts UNAMIR's mandate, authorizing a force reduction and calling for an end to the "mindless violence".

23 April: UN advance humanitarian team arrives in Kigali.

13 May: Secretary-General reports a "major humanitarian crisis" has developed, with nearly 2 million people displaced.

17 May: Council resolution 918 (1994) expands UNAMIR mandate to enable it to protect refugees and civilians. UNAMIR strength authorized up to 5,500 troops.

25 May: Human Rights Commission appoints Special Rapporteur. René Degni-Segui subseqently undertakes two missions.

20 June: Security Council resolution 928 (1994) endorses recommendation that ONUMUR be closed down by 21 September.

22 June: The Security Council by resolution 929 (1994) authorizes Member States to set up a temporary multinational operation for humanitarian purposes until UNAMIR is strengthened. French-commanded "Operation Turquoise" is launched.

1 July: Shaharyar Khan appointed to succeed Jacques-Roger Booh-Booh as Secretary-General's Special Representative. The Council, in resolution 935, requests creation of an impartial Commission of Experts to investigate reports of violations of international humanitarian law.

2 July: "Operation Turquoise" establishes a humanitarian protected zone in south-western Rwanda.

18 July: The RPF unilaterally declares cease-fire, effectively ending the civil war.

19 July: Broad-based Government of National Unity formed.

22 July: UN Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Persons Affected by the Crisis in Rwanda launched by the Secretary-General.

24-28 July: UN relief assessment mission visits Rwanda and region.

2 August: Pledging conference held in Geneva.

3 August: Secretary-General reports the RPF has established military control over most of Rwanda. The protracted violence has created an "almost unprecedented humanitarian crisis".

10 August: The Council encourages the new Government to cooperate with the UN in ensuring that those guilty of atrocities are brought to justice.

12-16 September: Special Representative visits Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania to discuss security situation in refugee camps.

Power-sharing pact called 'significant breakthrough'

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 14 September welcomed the signing of a Convention of Government on power-sharing by nine political parties in Burundi and assessed it as a "significant breakthrough".

He said he hoped that Burundi would soon elect a new president and establish a government so that international assistance for the country's rehabilitation, recovery and development could be facilitated.

The first agreement on power-sharing was signed by 9 out of 13 political parties on 10 September. It was followed by a second agreement, on the modalities of the presidential succession, which was signed on 18 September by 10 political parties. The agreement provided, *inter alia*, for the National Assembly of Burundi to select a consensus president. On 30 September, the official candidate of the Front pour la démocratie au Burundi (FRODEBU), Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, speaker of the Parliament, who had also acted as Burundi's Interim President since 6 April, was elected President by the National Assembly by 68 votes to 1.

On 29 July, in a statement by its President, Jamsheed K.A. Marker of Pakistan, the Security Council had expressed support for the ongoing political dialogue on presidential succession, and condemned extremist elements which sought to block progress towards a peaceful settlement. It also demanded that all parties cease immediately any incitement to violence or ethnic hatred. The Council had also expressed alarm over the recent violence in Bujumbura and reiterated its condemnation of the violent interruption of the democratic process in Burundi.

On 25 August, the Security Council—after considering an oral report of a fact-finding mission led by Ibrahim A. Gambari of Nigeria which visited Burundi on 13 and 14 August—called upon all the parties to reject any undemocratic or extremist solutions in settling their political differences.

In a 25 August statement by Council President Yuliy M. Vorontsov of the Russian Federation, all parties involved in the negotiations on the presidential succession were urged to display "maximum political will" for a speedy settlement of their differences by the scheduled date of 26 August.

> "The convening of an international conference on the problems of the subregion was recommended"

The fact-finding mission submitted a report *(S/1994/1039)* to the Security Council on 7 September, focusing on the political, security and humanitarian situation in Burundi. It reported that there was an urgent need to resolve the question of the nomination of a definitive president, and that a 12 August agreement was reached between political parties supporting the Interim President (the Majority) and the parties united in the mainly Tutsi opposition to the Majority (the Opposition).

The selection of a president would become an essential stabilizing factor, the mission said. However, while the Majority preferred an executive with strong powers, the Opposition sought to limit the prerogatives of the head of State. Extremist elements within the Majority and the Opposition were playing a destabilizing and negative role, the report continued. As a result, serious civil unrest had developed.

The report stressed that impunity from justice was one of the most serious problems facing Burundi. The judicial system had virtually ceased to exist in most of the country. The transborder refugee flow and the existence of large numbers of internally displaced persons were also of serious concern.

Recommendations

The mission made nine recommendations, including the convening of an international conference dealing with the crisis and the problems of the subregion. It wanted the international community to continue to encourage the establishment of stable democratic institutions in Burundi, including the nomination of a definitive president.

It also recommended: establishment of an operational airlift capability at Bujumbura airport to distribute humanitarian relief assistance; immediate assistance to restore the collapsing judicial system; periodic high-level and high-visibility visits by international officials; and deployment of human rights observers throughout the country, provided there was an improvement in the security situation.

The mission also asked for: efforts to induce the Zairian authorities to disarm the militia elements and soldiers of the former Rwandese Government forces in Zaire and to move them away from the border with Burundi; bringing to justice perpetrators of the October 1993 attempted coup and subsequent massacres, including investigation of violations of international humanitarian law; and strengthening the Office of the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Burundi. ■

Renewed fighting delays election process

UN Photo 185569/J.Bu

Council President Marker of Pakistan addressing the meeting on 13 July.

The Security Council on 30 August expressed concern over a serious deterioration in the situation in Liberia and, in a statement by Council President Yuliy Vorontsov of the Russian Federation, urged the Liberian parties to resolve their differences as soon as possible by political means.

On 26 August, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had reported *(S/1994/1006)* that the situation in that West African nation had worsened as factions continued to hold territory and commit atrocities against civilians. Disarmament had virtually stopped and there was no clear prospect of elections, he said.

A peace agreement to end the three-and-a-half year civil strife in Liberia had been signed on 25 July 1993 in Cotonou, Benin, by the three parties to the conflict—the Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU), the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), and the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia (ULIMO). Its implementation was primarily assigned to the Military Observer Group (ECOMOG) of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). The UN was called upon to verify the impartiality of its various implementation procedures through the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL).

UNOMIL had been set up on 22 September 1993 and was the first UN peace-keeping operation established in cooperation with a peace-keeping mission already set up by another organization. ECOWAS has been overseeing the formulation of the 1991 Yamoussoukro IV Accord, described in the Cotonou Agreement as "the best framework for peace in Liberia".

Six months after the seating of the Liberian National Transitional Government (LNTG) on 7 March, the Government had not been fully installed, Mr. Boutros-Ghali reported. Sessions of the Council of State and Cabinet, though frequent, provided little progress, as the members seemed to reflect the views of the parties which had nominated them, as opposed to working as a unified executive.

A "Liberian National Conference" had been convened to seek a consensus on the strategy for disarmament and a date for elections. While it was not the conference that the Security Council had asked the LNTG to organize, many people in Liberia hoped that it would contribute to a reactivation of the peace process, and thus the Secretary-General had instructed his Special Representative to support it.

The Secretary-General stressed that he was increasingly concerned at the absence of progress in the peace process. For that reason, he had sent a fact-finding mission, headed by Lakhdar Brahimi, to Liberia to advise him on the most appropriate course of action. He would then report to the Council on the UN's future role before the expiry of the UNOMIL mandate on 22 October.

On 13 July, the Security Council had called for the LNTG to arrange a meeting of concerned Liberian factions by 31 July to agree on a realistic plan to resume and complete disarmament. The meeting was convened in cooperation with ECOWAS and the Organization of African Unity and with the support of the Secretary-General's Special Representative and UNOMIL.

In a statement by its President, Jamsheed K.A. Marker of Pakistan, the Council noted with concern that preparations for national elections had been hampered by the continued fighting and the consequent virtual halt of the disarmament process.

The Council demanded that attacks on and the abduction of personnel of the UN and ECOMOG, and the looting of their property cease forthwith. It further demanded that all factions extend full cooperation to humanitarian relief organizations. It urgently called on all Member States to provide financial and material support to enable ECOMOG to fulfil its responsibilities in accordance with the Cotonou Agreement.

On 13 September, the Council "strongly condemned" the detention and mistreatment of 43 UNOMIL military observers and six non-governmental organization staff. They were reported released on 19 September. ■

UNOSOM II mandate extended
Mission's future pondered

Despite its deep concern over a deteriorating security environment, including "attacks and harassment" against UN peace-keepers, the Security Council on 30 September extended the mandate of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) for one month, until 31 October. In the meantime, the Council would undertake a thorough examination of UNOSOM's mandate, with a view to deciding on its future.

The Council, in adopting resolution 946 (1994) by 14 votes to none, with the United States abstaining, also encouraged the Secretary-General to intensify preparations of contingency arrangements for the possible withdrawal of UNOSOM II within a specified time-frame.

The Council also declared its readiness to consider sending a mission to Somalia at the appropriate time, in order to convey directly to the Somali political parties its views on the situation in the country and on the future of the UN presence there.

UNOSOM II force levels were to be reduced from 18,761 as of August to 15,000 by the end of October, with withdrawals concentrated in areas of relative stability. UNOSOM forces would continue to protect major seaports and airports and escort humanitarian convoys, but would no longer be in a position to protect UN agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in vacated areas. The forces would be concentrated mainly in Mogadishu, Baidoa and Kismayo.

UNOSOM II continued to provide basic training to Somali police, but had discontinued the further issue of police equipment, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported. Despite political commitments to remove military vehicles and checkpoints, "technicals"—vehicles mounted with machine-guns and recoilless weapons and manned by armed militia—were observed daily in Mogadishu, particularly around the seaport and airport. Small-arms fire was heard continuously in the capital city, and threats of armed militias and "technicals" outside Mogadishu were described as "permanent".

UN Photo 159780/M. Grant

Meetings with village elders are intended to promote communication and reconciliation.

No progress

In explaining the United States position, Madeleine K. Albright said the time had come to bring UNOSOM II to a conclusion. Over the past four months, she said, there was a "total lack of progress on political reconciliation". General deterioration had been punctuated by violent attacks on UN peace-keepers. More than 140 peace-keepers had died in Somalia, she noted.

The mission was draining scarce resources that could be better used elsewhere. In the face of Somali "intransigence" and unwillingness to reach political agreement, UNOSOM could not continue to spend $2.5 million per day to maintain 15,000 troops in Somalia, she stated.

In a 17 September report *(S/1994/1068)*, the Secretary-General said efforts of the Somali parties, with UNOSOM II's assistance, could lead to the convening of a Hawiye peace conference and a preparatory meeting for the national reconciliation conference, set to convene by the end of September. A one-month mandate extension, he said, would give him time to submit by mid-October a report on his assessment of prospects of national reconciliation and recommendations for the future of UNOSOM II.

Reconciliation efforts

The Secretary-General also in his report detailed the ongoing efforts at political reconciliation, as well as the UN humanitarian relief programme and reports of unrest.

His Special Representative, James Victor Gbeho of Ghana, would continue to support the Somali efforts, but the daunting difficulties that had frustrated past efforts to implement the political agreements reached at Addis Ababa and Nairobi should not be overlooked, the Secretary-General said.

Stressing the importance of inter-clan reconciliation, Mr. Boutros-Ghali noted the intensive consultations with Ali Mahdi Mohamed, General Mohamed Farah Aidid and the Imam of Hirab, Imam Mahamoud Imam Omar, concerning arrangements for convening the Hawiye peace conference and the national reconciliation conference. Gen. Aidid and Mr. Mahdi had expressed support for the Imam's initiative to resolve the differences among the Hawiye sub-clans as a prelude to the reconciliation conference, he reported.

Since the conclusion on 18 June of the Lower Juba Reconciliation Conference, there had been no major violations of its peace agreement, the report stated. Following his election on 22 August as Chairman of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front (SSDF), Colonel Abdullahi Yusuf had affirmed his commitment to bring together the southern factions in Mogadishu to facilitate national reconciliation.

At a meeting held in Djibouti from 13 to 17 August between the Chairmen of the Somali National Movement (SNM) and the other three northwest-based political factions—the Somali Democratic Alliance (SDA), the United Somali Party (USP) and the United Somali Front (USF)—it had been declared in a joint statement that secession of the north was neither feasible nor desirable, and that the national reconciliation conference should be convened no later than September 1994.

Humanitarian relief

The UN and NGOs continued to provide humanitarian relief, wherever conditions allowed, to the most vulnerable segments of Somali society, the Secretary-General reported on 17 September. Major health and nutritional indicators of the majority of the population had held relatively stable, and a good harvest was expected following the rainy season.

Under normal security and administrative conditions, international assistance should be in a post-emergency recovery and development phase, the Secretary-General stated. However, this was not the situation in most regions, owing to continued banditry, fighting and petty disputes. Several organizations had thus withdrawn their international staff from certain locations.

The ability of UNOSOM II to provide coordination, information, logistic support and security had been reduced by troop reductions, Somali political and military actions, and budget restrictions. UNOSOM II was supporting humanitarian operations in just half the territory that it had covered in mid-1994.

Other reports

In his 17 August report *(S/1994/977)*, the Secretary-General had recommended that the UN continue "for a little longer" to give the Somali leaders the opportunity to demonstrate their readiness to cooperate with the UN and with each other to bring their country "back from the abyss". While it was too early to conclude that UNOSOM II could not achieve its objectives, the omens did not appear promising.

The two antagonistic groups—the Somali National Alliance (SNA) and the Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA)—were continuing to encourage the creation of new partisan factions not parties to the Addis Ababa and Nairobi agreements. That would complicate further the prospects for the national reconciliation conference, it was stated.

It was thought at one time that the elders could play a central role in the formation of a Somali Government, the report went on. But the armed factions would be extremely difficult to marginalize and they often operated with the blessing of the elders. Despite those difficulties, it would seem that the prudent approach would be the reconciliation of factions within the framework of traditional structures.

On 18 July, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/1994/839)* that daily life in many regions was returning to normal, and agricultural production was recovering. On the other hand, there had been a "significant deterioration" in the security situation, especially in Mogadishu, due to a resumption in inter-clan fighting and an increase in banditry.

In those circumstances, the international community's growing concern about how long it would be expected to support efforts towards national reconciliation in Somalia was fully understandable, the Secretary-General added. The impression had been created that despite the prolonged suffering of the Somali people, certain Somali leaders were still not prepared "to subordinate their personal ambitions for power to the cause of peace and stability". ■

UN Photo 159864/M. Grant

UNOSOM II continued to provide training to Somali police.

ANGOLA

No additional sanctions imposed in view of continuing talks

UNHCR/24108/C. Sattlberger

Refugees at a relief centre. UN aid flights arrive sporadically because of threats of violence.

The Security Council on 29 September extended the mandate of the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM II) until 31 October 1994 and declared that, in view of the current negotiations and the formal acceptance by the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) of the proposals on national reconciliation put forward in the Lusaka peace talks, it would not at this time impose additional measures against UNITA.

In adopting unanimously resolution 945 (1994), the Council also deplored the intensification of military actions throughout Angola and reiterated its demand that both parties cease all military operations forthwith.

The Council affirmed its readiness to consider authorizing promptly, once an agreement had been initialled by the parties, a rapid increase in UNAVEM II's strength to its previous authorized level of 350 military and 126 police observers. The current level is 50 military and 18 police observers, with 11 military paramedics and 49 international civilian staff. The Council also condemned any action which threatened the unimpeded delivery of humanitarian assistance and put the lives of relief workers at risk.

The Secretary-General on 17 September had informed the Council *(S/1994/1069)* that the Angolan Government and UNITA might soon reach agreement on their remaining differences by the time UNAVEM II's current mandate expired. A two-month mandate extension, he said, would enable the talks to conclude and allow time for follow-up meetings between the military representatives of the two sides, for the signing of the Lusaka Protocol and preparations for UNAVEM's expansion.

On 9 September, the Council reported that UNITA formally accepted the complete set of proposals on national reconciliation put forward in the Lusaka peace talks by the Secretary-General's Special Representative, Alioune Blondin Beye, and the three observer States—Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States.

In a statement made by its President, Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain, the Council said that by accepting the proposals, UNITA had met the requirements of resolution 932 (1994). Consequently, additional measures against UNITA would not be imposed. (The proposed measures would have added trade sanctions and travel restrictions to the existing oil and arms embargo.)

The Council also urged both parties to reach a comprehensive agreement within the framework of the "Acordos de Paz" before the current mandate of UNAVEM II expired on 30 September. It reiterated that it would reconsider the UN's future role in Angola if a peace agreement was not concluded by then.

On 12 August, the Council had deferred temporarily the imposition of additional measures against UNITA, but had confirmed its readiness to impose such measures if UNITA did not accept mediation proposals on national reconciliation during August. Expressing impatience over the protracted negotiations, the Council strongly urged UNITA to accept the proposals.

In a statement by its President, Yuliy Vorontsov of the Russian Federation, the Council had expressed dismay at both parties' actions, particularly those of UNITA, which had led to a deterioration in the humanitarian situation in Angola.

In a 22 July report *(S/1994/865)*, the Secretary-General said that although agreement had been reached on all the specific principles concerning national reconciliation, the modalities for implementing them had not been resolved.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 30 August asked former Under-Secretary-General James Jonah to visit Angola and Lusaka to assess UN efforts in the country in the areas of peacemaking, peace-keeping and humanitarian activities. ■

Council maintains 'cautious optimism' on peace process

The Security Council on 7 September expressed "cautious optimism" that Mozambicans would be able to fulfil the goals of the peace process, achieving democracy, lasting peace, and responsible, representative government in their country. In a presidential statement, the Council said it was satisfied with the pace of the peace process in Mozambique, including the demobilization of all forces, which was expected to be completed shortly.

The Council welcomed the commitment by Mozambique's main political parties and the National Elections Commission to ensure the holding of elections on 27 and 28 October, as scheduled. It underlined the importance of voter registration reaching as many Mozambicans as possible. Registration had begun on 1 June and had been extended until 2 September. As a result, the electoral campaign was due to begin on 22 September.

The Council concurred with the UN Secretary-General that the UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) should be deployed over a wider area to assist the Government in maintaining security, particularly during the electoral period.

ONUMOZ, set up on 16 December 1992 to assist in the implementation of the 4 October 1992 General Peace Agreement between the Government and the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO), had been monitoring the electoral registration process with 120 observers. The UN intended to deploy 1,200 electoral observers for the actual polling and counting of votes.

A Security Council mission sent to Mozambique from 7 to 12 August discussed with the parties how best to ensure full and timely implementation of the General Peace Agreement. The mission reported *(S/1994/1009)* difficulties regarding the formation of the new Mozambican Defence Force (FADM), and emphasized the importance of a complete transfer of all *matériel* of the armed forces to FADM. One area of disappointment, it said, was that of mine clearance, which was late in starting and had made little progress.

On 7 July, the Secretary-General had urged *(S/1994/803)* that the assembly and demobilization of government troops be accelerated dramatically to meet deadlines set in the General Peace Agreement.

> "The demobilization process was reported almost complete"

If deadlines were not met and a large number of the soldiers selected for FADM were left in the assembly areas, there was a danger of having three armies in Mozambique during the election period. That would threaten stability, the holding of free and fair elections, and the peaceful formation of the new government.

The Secretary-General on 26 August had reported *(S/1994/1002)* to the Council "encouraging" and "significant progress" in the peace process.

Demobilization was almost complete, more than three quarters of the estimated eligible voter population had been registered, and the major political conditions for holding the elections were in place.

Nevertheless, there was growing concern about the security situation, which had deteriorated in recent months, he reported. Rioting among soldiers in assembly areas and other locations had become frequent and violent.

In general, the cease-fire had been remarkably well respected and all unassembled troops had been registered, the Secretary-General went on.

Despite the demobilization of a much larger number of troops than initially planned, the number of weapons collected by ONUMOZ was below expectations.

Delays in the formation of FADM were reported. Although the General Peace Agreement provided for it to be a volunteer army of 30,000 soldiers —15,000 each from Government and RENAMO ranks—no more than 10,000 soldiers were expected to join the new army before the elections.

About 75 per cent of the estimated 3.7 million persons internally displaced at the time of the signature of the General Peace Agreement had now been resettled, and some 342,000 refugees in neighbouring countries were expected to return to Mozambique by the end of 1994, the report stated.

There had been "inordinate delays" in implementing the UN mine-clearance programme, the Secretary-General said, but progress was finally being made.

The reduction of the ONUMOZ military component would begin on 15 November and was to be completed by the end of December, the Secretary-General stated. Until the final closure of the Mission by the end of January 1995, a limited number of staff would remain in Mozambique. ■

Multinational force dispatched to pave way for Aristide's return

The "flower of democracy" would soon open in Haiti, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide—in exile since the September 1991 military coup—told the General Assembly on 4 October. That democracy had been "obtained through diplomacy", he stressed.

Thanks to the "heroic courage of the Haitian people" and the solidarity and support of the international community and the UN Secretary-General, he would finally return home, Mr. Aristide stated.

He was especially grateful to United States President William J. Clinton, who, he said, had opened a "channel of hope after the suffering", and to the Friends of the Secretary-General—Canada, France, Venezuela and Argentina—as well as the countries of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), which had supported the implementation of relevant Security Council resolutions and the 3 July 1993 Governors Island Agreement.

Even today, with the peace operation "Uphold Democracy"—the multinational force in Haiti since 19 September—a "smile had shed light upon the faces of those who loved peace", President Aristide said. In calling for "reconciliation and justice for all in Haiti", he hoped that the roots of democracy would grow again in his country.

Formation of a multinational force and the use of "all necessary means" to facilitate the departure from Haiti of the military leadership, consistent with the Governors Island Agreement, was authorized under Security Council resolution 940 (1994) of 31 July.

On 29 September, in adopting resolution 944 (1994), the Council decided to lift its sanctions against Haiti, at 0001 a.m. EST on the day after the return of President Aristide.

AP/Wide World Photos

The United States-led multinational force arrived in Haiti on 19 September *(above)*. It was a peaceful entry, with Haitians greeting them with smiles and handshakes *(below)*.

On 23 September, former Algerian Foreign Minister Lakhdar Brahimi was named the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Haiti, succeeding Dante Caputo of Argentina. Unlike Mr. Caputo, who had been a Special Envoy of both the UN and the Organization of American States (OAS), Mr. Brahimi was to represent solely the UN.

In accepting Mr. Caputo's resignation on 19 September, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali thanked him for the "courage and devotion" which he had lent to the discharge of his duties and for his

"tireless efforts for almost two years to restore democracy to Haiti".

Consistent non-compliance

Until mid-September, progress towards achieving the "goal of restoring democracy" in Haiti had suffered serious set-backs, the Secretary-General said in his annual report *(A/49/1)*. The Haitian military authorities were in "consistent non-compliance" with the Governors Island Agreement and there had been a "grave deterioration of the human rights situation".

In fact, tensions had "drastically increased" after the illegal installation on 11 May of Emile Jonassaint as "provisional President", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated.

On 11 July, the staff of the joint UN/OAS International Civilian Mission to Haiti (MICIVIH), established under General Assembly resolution 47/20 B on 20 April 1993, had been declared "undesirable" by the de facto authorities and given 48 hours to leave the country. That "illegal action" was condemned "most resolutely" on 11 July by the Secretaries-General of the UN and OAS.

The Security Council, in a 12 July statement, denounced the decision of the Haitian illegal authorities. The work of MICIVIH, it said, had the "highest approbation of the Council", and its mandate had been extended on 8 July for another year by the Assembly in resolution 48/27 B.

Considering the action a "serious escalation in the defiant stance" of Haiti's de facto regime and military authorities towards the international community, the Council condemned their attempt to "avoid appropriate international scrutiny at a time of increasing indiscriminate violence against the civilian population".

As the Council continued to hold the military junta "individually and collectively responsible" for the safety and security of the international presence in Haiti, it stressed that the recent expulsion had further reinforced the Council's "continued determination to bring about a rapid and definitive solution to this crisis".

On 12 July, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali announced *(A/48/967-S/1994/829)* his decision, in consultation with the Acting OAS Secretary-General, to evacuate the MICIVIH staff from Haiti, taking into consideration their security.

"I deplore the fact that, despite the efforts of the international community, the de facto authorities in Haiti, who continue to flout their commitments under the Governors Island Agreement, have now stopped the monitoring of the violations of human rights and political freedoms which are taking place in the country", he told the Council.

Resolution 940: 'All necessary means'

In authorizing UN Member States to form a "multinational force under unified command and control" and, in that framework, to use "all necessary means" to facilitate the departure from Haiti of the military leadership and the prompt return of President Aristide, the Security Council on 31 July recognized the "unique character" of Haiti's situation and its "deteriorating, complex and extraordinary nature", which required an "exceptional response".

In adopting resolution 940 (1994) by a vote of 12 to none, with 2 abstentions (Brazil and China), the Council expressed grave concern over the continuing escalation of systematic violations of civil liberties, the "desperate plight of the Haitian refugees", and the recent expulsion of MICIVIH staff.

When a secure and stable environment had been established, the multinational force was to terminate its mission, the Council ruled, and the UN Mission in Haiti (UNMIH)—set up in September 1993—was to "assume the full range of its functions".

The Council approved the establishment of an UNMIH advance team of not more than 60 personnel to establish means of coordination with the international force and to monitor its operations.

In addition, UNMIH's mandate was extended for another six months, until 31 January 1995, and its troop level increased to 6,000. The objective of completing UNMIH's mission not later than February 1996, in cooperation with the constitutional Government of Haiti, was established.

Under its revised mandate, UNMIH was to assist the legitimate constitutional authorities in creating an "environment conducive to the organization of free and fair legislative elections".

On 15 July, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/1994/828)* that the situation in Haiti had "deteriorated to an intolerable extent". The illegal military junta continued to "defy the will of the international community and to inflict murder, rape and torture on the unfortunate people of Haiti who also bear the brunt of sanctions".

That situation, as pointed out in Council resolution 933 (1994) of 30 June, had to be brought to an end, which would require the deployment of a "very large international force", the Secretary-General stated.

'Discarded possibility'

At the end of August, another attempt to solve the Haitian crisis had regrettably "come to a dead end", the Secretary-General stated *(A/49/1)*. The country's military leaders had refused to meet the Secretary-General's special envoy, sent to Haiti on 25 August to arrange for a visit of a high-level mission to seek a peaceful implementation of resolution 940 (1994).

By rejecting that initiative, the illegal de facto regime had once again "discarded a possibility" of peacefully implementing the Governors Island Agreement and resolutions 917 (1994) of 6 May and 940 (1994), Council members said on 30 August.

In a statement *(S/PRST/1994/49)* to the media by Council President Yuliy Vorontsov of the Russian Federation, they also reiterated their condemnation of the "systematic repression, violence and violations of international humanitarian law" carried out against the Haitian people.

The 28 August assassination of Father Jean-Marie Vincent—a Haitian priest who had "devoted his life to the

service of the poor" and a close friend of President Aristide—had once again showed the "climate of violence" in Haiti which continued to deteriorate under the illegal regime. Council members stated.

Also on 30 August, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said the killing of Father Vincent would "only strengthen the resolve of the international community to put an end to murder, terror and impunity in Haiti".

No bloodshed

A 2,000-strong multinational force arrived in Haiti on 19 September, following an arrangement made the day before resulting from intense consultations between a high-level United States mission and the Haitian military leadership.

The agreement, which the Secretary-General said avoided "violence and bloodshed", provided that certain officers of the Haitian armed forces—Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras, Brig. Gen. Philippe Biamby and Lt. Col. Michel François—were to step down when a general amnesty was enacted by the Haitian Parliament or on 15 October, whichever was earlier.

After its first week of operation, the Force reported on 26 September *(S/1994/1107)*, "several important steps towards establishing a secure and stable environment for the return of President Aristide and the full implementation of resolution 940 (1994)" had been made.

It had taken control of the Haitian armed forces' heavy weapons company and its armaments, and initiated a weapons control programme that included a "buy-back programme designed to rid the streets of as many illegal weapons as possible". Haitian police activities were also being monitored.

A number of programmes to "ameliorate potential causes of unrest" and build a "relationship of trust and friendship" with the local people had been launched, it was reported. The Force had also facilitated the pursuit of "substantial humanitarian efforts to ease the suffering of the most needy", including the "swift introduction of humanitarian aid flights" into Port-au-Prince and coordination of several civic operations to improve the Haitians' quality of life, providing basic services such as water purification, improved sanitation and basic medical care.

By the end of September, the Force had more than 17,000 personnel in Haiti; also, 12 UN military observers and 30 other members of UNMIH's 60-person advance team were in place.

In welcoming the news that a military intervention had been averted and conditions created for peacefully implementing Council resolution 940 (1994), Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali on 19 September expressed hope that a "secure and stable environment" would soon be established through cooperation between the Haitian military authorities and the multinational force. He also looked forward to the return to Haiti of President Aristide and the resumption of international assistance to help rebuild the country's economy and institutions.

Resolution 944: Sanctions to be lifted

On 29 September, the Security Council decided to lift the sanctions imposed on Haiti through Council resolutions 841 (1993), 873 (1993) and 917 (1994) "at 0001 a.m. EST on the day after the return to Haiti of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide".

Acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, the 15-member body adopted resolution 944 (1994) by a vote of 13 to none, with 2 abstentions (Brazil and Russian Federation). The Council also decided to dissolve the Committee established under resolution 841 (1993) to monitor compliance with sanctions.

The Secretary-General was asked to ensure the immediate completion of the deployment of observers and other elements of the UNMIH advance team.

The Council also urged Member States to respond positively to the request for contributions to UNMIH. It encouraged the Secretary-General, in consultation with his counterpart from the OAS, to continue efforts to facilitate the immediate return of MICIVIH to Haiti.

Further deterioration

Haiti was "politically stymied and economically paralysed", Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali warned on 26 August *(S/1994/1012)*. Its population had "for months been anxiously awaiting a solution to the crisis".

Immediately after resolution 940 (1994) was adopted, a state of siege

had been decreed by Haiti's "provisional President", replacing the 3 June state of emergency, the Secretary-General reported. Further restrictions of public freedoms had followed, including initiation of prosecutions of citizens who had called for revolt or foreign invasion.

On 1 August, warnings were issued to the local press by the Ministries of the Interior and Information not to publish "alarmist or tendentious news" and "not make itself the instrument of foreign propaganda under penalty of temporary suspension".

On 4 August, President Aristide and UN Ambassador Fritz Longchamp were pronounced "guilty of the crime of high treason". On 12 August, a ban was instituted on publishing without prior authorization information or statements by foreign embassies in Haiti.

In July, a group of Haitian human rights protection organizations identified 41 cases of extrajudicial executions, 200 cases of arbitrary arrest, 76 cases of inhuman and degrading treatment, and 150 cases of searches and various forms of intimidation, the Secretary-General reported.

International humanitarian assistance was encountering "numerous obstacles". Although food aid was provided daily to 940,000 people, and programmes continued to be implemented in the fields of health, water, sanitary installations and agriculture, local authorities either did not issue, or delayed the issuance of, duty-free import licences, deliberately blocked humanitarian deliveries, and were reluctant to authorize the landing of humanitarian flights, the report said.

To enforce UN sanctions, a bilateral agreement had been concluded on 2 August between the Dominican Republic and the United States, under which the United States was to provide the Dominican authorities with equipment to monitor the border with Haiti.

The Secretary-General reported *(S/1994/871)* on 26 July that despite the electoral timetable, "no legislative action" was being taken to prepare for elections scheduled for November 1994.

Various indicators pointed to an alarming humanitarian situation: a sharp increase of the all-prices index; unemployment rate of over 50 per cent of the active population; increasing incidence of certain illnesses, such as diarrhoea, malaria, typhoid, acute respiratory infections and measles; and persistent malnutrition throughout the country.

Although "no specific threats" to the remaining UN staff had been reported after MICIVIH's departure, there had been "continuing reports of Haitians being assaulted and killed", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said. Locally-recruited staff of international organizations were "particularly sensitive to the continuing tension in the country", he noted.

An 'unprecedented crisis'

Haiti was experiencing an "unprecedented human rights crisis", MICIVIH concluded in a 27 July report *(A/48/532/Add.3)* covering the period from 31 January to 30 June 1994.

Human rights violations ranged from harassment to extrajudiciary executions (sometimes with mutilation of corpses), and included "intimidation, financial extortion, arbitrary arrest, illegal detention, beatings and other forms of torture, rapes and enforced disappearances", it stated.

Particularly striking was the "political dimension" of those violations, since "more than two thirds of victims" of enforced disappearances and rape were "leaders of or activists in grass-roots political or working-class organizations or their relatives".

Also, the Mission stressed, the political oppression affecting the whole country was concentrated in working-class districts, such as Cité Soleil in Port-au-Prince and Raboteau in Gonaïves, and in localities known for their support of President Aristide.

Since those responsible for massive human rights violations were protected by military authorities, it was becoming "increasingly clear" that the aim of the repression was to "destroy the pro-democracy movement. The army high command bears all the responsibility for this", the Mission concluded.

Humanitarian concerns

To counteract the alarming effects of tightened economic sanctions on Haiti's poorest and most vulnerable people, the World Food Programme (WFP) had expanded its emergency relief operations on the island, it was announced on 7 September.

According to WFP estimates, more than 2 million people, within the total population of 6.5 million, were at risk. More than half of the work force was unemployed; the loss of income had severely affected the diets of the poor; and pre-school children suffered worst. ■

UN Photo 188112/E. Debebe

Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide *(right)* with Assistant Secretary-General for Public Information Samir Sanbar at a 4 October press conference at Headquarters.

El Salvador moves towards reconciliation

Joint Declaration signed

A joint declaration—signed by the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) on 4 October—reflected the parties' determination to see the 16 January 1992 Peace Accords "implemented fully and urgently for the benefit of all Salvadorians", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported on 6 October.

In the declaration, both sides had agreed to: cooperate closely and actively to ensure full compliance with all the Accords; establish joint mechanisms, with the participation of the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL); determine specific measures necessary for the rapid fulfilment of their commitments; and keep the Salvadorian people and the international community informed of any decisions and steps they took. They also reiterated their request that the UN extend the mandate of ONUSAL until 30 April 1995.

Progress welcomed

In welcoming steps taken by Salvadorian President Calderón Sol to ensure compliance with the outstanding provisions of the Peace Accords, the Security Council on 16 September said it was encouraged by El Salvador's "transformation from a country riven by conflict into a nation on the path to reconciliation".

While some delays and difficulties still persisted, progress had been achieved in areas relevant to the "strengthening and modernization of the democratic institutions", the Council observed in a statement *(S/PRST/1994/54)* by its President Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain.

It reaffirmed the need to ensure that, under appropriate verification by ONUSAL, the police and public security provisions of the 1992 Accords were "scrupulously observed". In particular, the Council expected the Government to "accelerate the demobilization of the National Police".

Concern was expressed at the "limited progress of the land-transfer programme, delays and distortions in other reintegration programmes and the unresolved problem of the human settlements".

The need for full implementation of the March 1993 recommendations of the Commission on the Truth was reiterated. In that regard, the Council welcomed the unanimous election of an independent Supreme Court of Justice as an "important step in the process of reform of the judicial system".

Significant steps

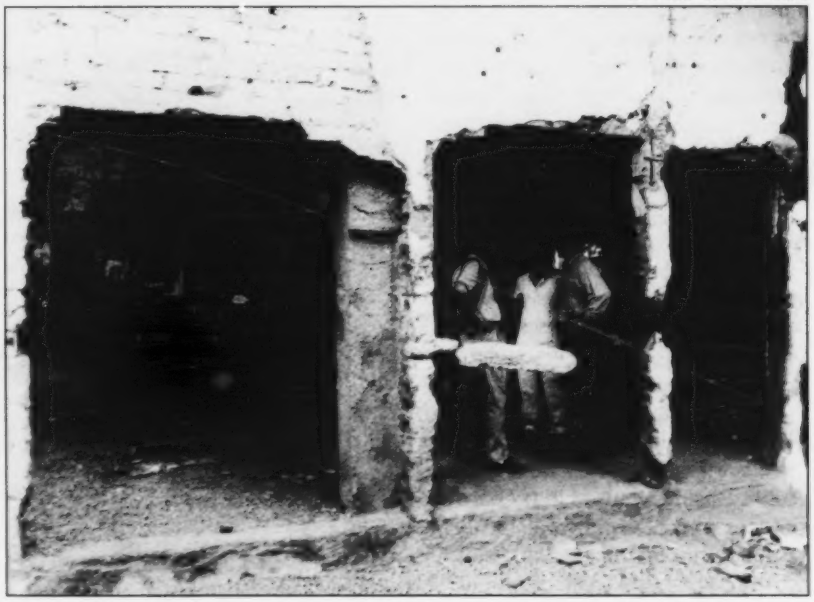
The FMLN—established as a "fully legal party" in the political and civil life of El Salvador—despite "formidable difficulties", had come to constitute a "credible opposition" in the National Assembly and maintained a "presence at the regional and municipal levels", the Secretary-General had reported *(S/1994/1000)* on 26 August.

Nevertheless, he said, much depended upon the commitment of the majority party, the Alianza Republicana Nacionalista (ARENA), to "govern wisely and with moderation", so that plurality became an "integral feature of Salvadorian politics".

Significant steps taken recently in correcting irregularities and deficiencies had paved the way for the "much-needed reform of the judicial system" and finally offered hope that El Salvador would see the "end of impunity, one of the root causes of war", the Secretary-General said.

However, there were "several difficult issues" still to be resolved, he went on. The justice and police sectors continued to require careful attention, and the strengthening of internal

UN Photo 186640/M. Grant



Rebuilding the country is an important goal. *Above*, buildings damaged by the war.

supervisory mechanisms, particularly of the Inspector-General's functions, was "of supreme importance" at this stage, he said.

Overall, although conditions necessary to ensure the full and final implementation of the Peace Accords seemed to be in place, the "difficulties in carrying out outstanding obligations should not be underestimated", the Secretary-General warned.

'Precarious situation'

The human rights situation in El Salvador would "remain precarious" until State institutions were efficient enough to prevent and punish human rights violations, the Director of the ONUSAL Human Rights Division stated on 28 July.

Major obstacles to the effective exercise of human rights in El Salvador, according to his report *(A/48/281-S/1994/886)* covering the period from 1 March to 30 June 1994, included: the increase in "acts of common violence"; "clear involvement of members of law-enforcement bodies in criminal acts"; and impunity which resulted from the "deficit operation of the justice system".

Faced with the "lack of public securities", the Government increased the deployment of the National Civil Police and announced the demobilization of the National Police, stating that its Criminal Investigation Section had been dissolved ahead of schedule. However, the demobilization of the National Police should be accelerated even further, the report stressed.

Also harmful to the peace process was the fact that there were still "groups that resort to violence as a means of resolving political conflicts".

Although some recommendations made by the Human Rights Division and the Commission on the Truth were being put into practice—such as "granting the habeas corpus and the invalidation of extrajudicial confession"—it was essential to "accelerate the reform of the judicial system", the report said. The new Legislative Assembly must ratify the constitutional reforms and pending reforms of secondary legislation. Also, the penitentiary system was experiencing a "serious crisis", and the prison regime must be "modernized as soon as possible", it was stated.

Other important recommendations related to: the granting to the National Council of the Judiciary the power to appoint and dismiss judges; expansion of authority concerning *amparo*; reduction of the maximum period for detentions due to administrative misdemeanours; and repeal of the Police Act.

With regard to the international standards for human rights, the Legislative Assembly had ratified only the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, the report said. Furthermore, El Salvador was the only Central American country that had not recognized the mandatory competence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. ■

New human rights mission established for Guatemala

A new UN operation—the Mission for the Verification of Human Rights and of Compliance with the Commitments of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights in Guatemala (MINUGUA)—was established for an initial period of six months by the General Assembly on 19 September.

In adopting resolution 48/267 without a vote, as it concluded its forty-eighth session, the Assembly called on the two parties—the Government of Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG)—to "pursue a vigorous process of negotiation".

They were also asked to comply fully with undertakings under the accords of 10 January relating to resumption of the negotiating process, and of 29 March on a timetable for the negotiation of a firm and lasting peace, and on human rights. The "broadest support" by the parties for MINUGUA, particularly with respect to the security of its members, was urged.

The international community was asked to support "institution-building and cooperation projects in the area of human rights", which could be implemented by MINUGUA and relevant Guatemalan entities.

Leonardo Franco of Argentina was named Director of Mission. An advance team was dispatched to Guatemala on 20 September.

In recommending that the Mission be launched, the Secretary-General had observed that immediate human rights verification could make a decisive contribution to ongoing efforts in Guatemala to put an "end to a persisting pattern of human rights abuses".

In an 18 August report *(A/48/985)*, he stated that MINUGUA would "bolster the peace process by promoting full compliance" by the parties with their commitments, strengthen confidence in the agreements reached, and consolidate the prospect for an early end to the "longest conflict in Latin America", which had lasted for "more than three decades".

In that regard, close cooperation between the UN system, friends of the Guatemalan peace process—Colombia, Mexico, Norway, Spain, United States and Venezuela—donor countries and the international community as a whole to "provide diplomatic, political and financial support" was essential. It could be a strong encouragement to the parties and Guatemalan society to "persevere in their quest for a lasting peace", he said.

Search for peaceful solution continues, as increased sanctions weighed

UN Photo

With the conflict in its third year, the problems of uprooted families and uncertain borders still exist. *Above*, Bosnian Muslims at a crossing point.

The "increasingly complex situation" in the former Yugoslavia had continued to demand the attention and resources of the international community and the United Nations, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported on 2 September. In the past year, he said, the Organization had carried out a "multiplicity of mandates" in an environment characterized by "vicious cycles of death and destruction, by the intermittent flare-up of conflicts and by the inevitable vicissitudes in the search for a peaceful negotiated solution to current conflicts".

Central to the whole Yugoslav crisis was the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, now in its third year. Thorvald Stoltenberg and Lord Owen —Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY)— reported *(S/1994/1074)* that "successive blueprints for peace" had been drawn up with the Bosnian parties and "subsequently repudiated by one side or the other". Among those were the Carrington-Cutiliero plan, the Vance-Owen plan, the "Invincible" package, and the European Union action plan.

Following the 1 March Washington accords on the establishment of a Bosniac-Croat Federation, a map for the allocation of territory between the Federation and the Bosnian Serbs was presented on 6 July. Prepared by the Contact Group—France, Germany, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and United States—the plan provided some 51 per cent of the territory to the Federation and 49 per cent to the Bosnian Serbs.

By the end of July, the map had been endorsed by the Federation, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)—FRY—the Co-Chairmen stated on 19 September. The FRY authorities had urged the Bosnian Serb leadership to accept the proposed map, but "it has not done so".

In early August, the FRY severed economic and political relations with the Bosnian Serb leaders and closed its 300-mile border with the Bosnian Serb-controlled territory in Bosnia

and Herzegovina to all traffic except for food, clothing and medicine.

In an effort to persuade the Bosnian Serb authorities to accept the map, Mr. Stoltenberg visited Belgrade and Pale from 12 to 14 August. The Bosnian Serb's unwillingness to endorse that proposal was later underscored by the results of a referendum held on 27 and 28 August.

In reporting *(S/1994/811)* on the activities of the ICFY—established in August 1992 to remain in being "until a final settlement of the problems of the former Yugoslavia"—the Co-Chairmen stated that the proposed map was viewed by Foreign Ministers of the Contact Group countries and Greece as an "important moment of opportunity", which might not come again. They were "united in their belief that the war could be ended now and that the consequences of failing to do so would be grave", the report said.

Croatia of concern

In Croatia, the lack of progress towards normalization of relations between the Croatian authorities and the local Serbs in the UN Protected Areas (UNPAs) remained a "cause of concern", the Secretary-General stated *(A/49/1)*. In those circumstances, challenges to the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) had "continued to be formidable" and had increased in number and complexity, he said.

Nevertheless, despite the limitations of its mandate and resources, UNPROFOR had played a "major stabilizing role" and contributed to normalizing the situation in Croatia and in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With a total of 38,000 military personnel—"almost 14,000 more than a year ago, but still nearly 7,000 short of its authorized strength"—UNPROFOR was "by far the largest peace-keeping operation" in UN history, the Secretary-General reported.

However, he went on, in the "absence of substantive progress towards peace", several troop-contributing countries had indicated the "intention to withdraw their peace-keepers" if the international arms embargo was lifted with regard to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

A compromise on lifting the arms embargo—imposed on the former Yugoslavia under Security Council resolution 713 (1991)—was offered by President Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

His Government, he told the General Assembly on 27 September, would "limit demands" for lifting the embargo if certain conditions were met, including: implementation of all UN resolutions on Bosnia and Herzegovina; border monitoring; strengthened and expanded protection of the "safe areas"; continuation of UNPROFOR; and the "immediate end of the strangulation of Sarajevo". If that proposal was rejected, Bosnia and Herzegovina would seek the "immediate and even unilateral lifting of the embargo", President Izetbegovic stated.

On 30 September, the Security Council extended UNPROFOR's mandate for another six months, until 31 March 1995. In unanimously adopting resolution 947 (1994), the Council also stressed UNPROFOR's "essential role in preventing and containing hostilities and thus creating the conditions for achieving an overall political settlement".

In a related development, Lithuania had been added on 5 August to the list of Member States contributing military personnel to UNPROFOR.

Between 1 July and 30 September, the Council met, either formally or in consultation, on six occasions to discuss the Yugoslav crisis, adopting five resolutions and issuing three statements.

Throughout the same period, some 883 violations of the ban on military flights in the airspace of Bosnia and Herzegovina, imposed under Council resolution 816 (1993), were reported—666 more than in the previous three months. That brought to 2,665 the total number of apparent violations since monitoring began in November 1992 under resolution 781 (1992).

Resolution 942: Increased sanctions

Strongly condemning the Bosnian Serb party for refusing to accept the proposed territorial settlement—which had been put to the Bosnian parties "as part of an overall peace settlement"—the Security Council on 23 September called for increased sanctions against the Bosnian Serbs.

UN Photo

Ambassador Muhamed Sacirbey *(left)* of Bosnia and Herzegovina addresses the Council on 30 September. *At right*, Ambassador Mario Nobilo of Croatia.

In adopting resolution 942 (1994) by a vote of 14 to none, with 1 abstention (China), the Council stated that the strengthened sanctions—which applied to "all activities of an economic nature, including commercial, financial and industrial activities and transactions"—would be reconsidered "if the Bosnian Serb party accepts the proposed territorial settlement unconditionally and in full".

The sanctions—specified in the two-part, 22-operative paragraph resolution—referred to economic activities involving "property or interests in property", meaning funds, financial, tangible and intangible assets, property rights, publicly and privately traded securities and debt instruments, and any other financial and economic resources.

UN Photo

The destruction of many villages and towns can be seen throughout the region.

'Desist from talks'

In calling upon States to "desist from any political talks" with the Bosnian Serb leadership until it acceded in full to the terms of the settlement, the Council decided that they should freeze financial assets held in their countries by Bosnian Serbs or entities under their control, and take steps to prevent the diversion of benefits to areas controlled by the Bosnian Serbs.

States should also prevent any economic activities with any entity directly or indirectly owned or controlled by persons or residents, or entities incorporated in areas controlled by Bosnian Serb forces, or with those acting on behalf of such persons or entities. Also, all commercial riverine traffic was prohibited from entering the ports under the control of those forces.

Exempted from the sanctions were medical supplies, foodstuffs and commodities for essential humanitarian needs. Within their territories, States could conduct such economic activities that did not result in the transfer of assets to areas controlled by the Bosnian Serbs.

The Council also decided that States should prevent Bosnian Serb authorities and persons violating the present and other relevant Council resolutions from entering their territory.

Nevertheless, the measures imposed by resolution 942 were to be reviewed "whenever appropriate and in any event every four months", the Council stated.

Resolution 943: Partial suspension

Also on 23 September, the Security Council decided that a number of economic sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were to be suspended for an initial period of 100 days, should the Secretary-General certify that the FRY authorities were effectively implementing the closure of its border with Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Upon receiving such a report, the Council would lift several restrictions imposed under resolutions 757 (1992) and 820 (1993), relating to all civilian passenger flights to and from Belgrade airport, and ferry service between Bar in the FRY and Bari in Italy, both "carrying only passengers and personal effects and no cargo". In addition, measures regarding "participation in sporting events and cultural exchanges" were to be suspended.

In adopting resolution 943 (1994) by a vote of 11 to 2 (Djibouti and Pakistan), with 2 abstentions (Nigeria and Rwanda), the Council also asked the Secretary-General to report every 30 days as to whether the FRY authorities were honouring the border closure. Any report on their non-compliance would terminate the suspension of sanctions, "unless the Security Council decides to the contrary".

Closure certified

In transmitting to the Security Council a Co-Chairmen's report *(S/1994/1124)* on the ICFY Mission to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Secretary-General on 3 October certified the closure of the border between the FRY and the areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina under the control of Bosnian Serb forces.

Based on on-site observation, the advice of Mission Coordinator Bo Pellnas of Sweden, and "in the absence of any contrary information from the air"—whether from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization airborne reconnaissance system or from national technical means—the Co-Chairmen concluded that the FRY was meeting its commitment to close the border, the report said.

By 3 October, the Mission has deployed 93 international personnel to FRY since 14 September.

Resolution 947: UNPROFOR mandate extended for six months

In extending UNPROFOR's mandate for another six months, until 31 March 1995, the Security Council on 30 September urged all concerned to cooperate with the Force in carrying out its mandate, "refrain from any hostile and provocative acts" against its personnel, and ensure their security and freedom of movement.

The Council acted in unanimously adopting resolution 947 (1994), by which it approved the Secretary-General's proposals *(S/1994/1067)* concerning UNPROFOR's activities in relation to "mine-clearance, public information and civilian police".

The Secretary-General was asked to report no later than 20 January 1995 on the implementation of the UN Peace-keeping Plan for Croatia and all relevant Council resolutions, as well as on progress towards: the opening of road and railway communications between Croatia and the UNPAs; establishment of water and electricity supplies in all regions of Croatia; and opening of the Adriatic pipeline.

The Council also declared that the restoration of Croatian authority in the "pink zones"—mostly Serb-populated areas outside the UNPAs in Croatia—must be accomplished under the close supervision of UNPROFOR and in such a manner as to avoid any further destabilization of the region.

In affirming the right of all displaced persons to "return voluntarily to their homes of origin in safety and dignity", the Council urged that a pilot project for the return to selected villages in or near the zone of separation be put into effect as soon as possible.

Concern was also expressed that status of forces agreements had not yet been concluded by Croatia, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the FRY. The Council called for their conclusion without delay.

UN Photo 186202/M. Grafman

UN convoys have been organized to safely transport people and goods.

Attack condemned

The "deliberate attack" on 22 September on UNPROFOR troops in Sarajevo—"just one of a number of attacks which clearly suggest a deliberate pattern"—was condemned by the Security Council on 30 September. Also denounced were the reported statements of Bosnian Serb leadership that it would "target UNPROFOR activities in retaliation for the passage of a Council resolution tightening sanctions" against the Bosnian Serbs. The Council warned them against any such action.

In a statement *(S/PRST/1994/57)* by Council President Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain, the Bosnian Serbs were also called upon: not to interfere with the normal functioning of Sarajevo airport; cooperate with efforts to fully restore the flow of gas and electricity and reopen all land routes to Sarajevo; and refrain from impeding the normal operations of those and all other utilities, and means of communication and transport.

In addition, the Council called upon all parties: not to interfere with the supply of gas or electricity to the civilian population; achieve "complete freedom of movement" for humanitarian goods to, from and within Sarajevo; and help restore normal life to the city.

The Secretary-General's Special Representative, Yasushi Akashi, and UNPROFOR were encouraged to explore "as a matter of priority" proposals for demilitarizing Sarajevo.

Blockades inadmissible

Deeply concerned by further reports of "continuing difficulties" in UNPROFOR's operations in Croatia—owing to blockades of traffic into the UNPAs by demonstrators—the Security Council on 11 August called such acts "inadmissible".

In a statement *(S/PRST/1994/44)* by its President, Yuliy Vorontsov of the Russian Federation, the Council welcomed the opening of 11 of 19 crossing points agreed to by Croatia and UNPROFOR in a 4 August accord on procedures regulating the Force's traffic to and from the UNPAs, and called on the Croatian authorities to faithfully implement its provisions.

Concerned about the "continuing unacceptable practice" of the Croatian Government of levying tolls and other taxes on UNPROFOR for the use of roads and airports, the Council strongly disapproved of any action that would "both impede the functioning of UNPROFOR and add to the already high cost of the peace-keeping operation in Croatia". In that regard, Croatia was again urged to conclude without further delay a status-of-forces agreement with UNPROFOR.

In providing the Council with a "full list of hindrances at crossing points" the Secretary-General on 26 July said *(S/1994/888)* that the blockades had "severely diminished" UNPROFOR's ability to monitor the 29 March Cease-fire Agreement.

On 24 August, it was announced at Headquarters that "all 19 of the crossing points into Croatia were now open".

Resolution 941: 'Ethnic cleansing'

All violations of international humanitarian law perpetrated in Bosnia and Herzegovina, particularly the "unacceptable practice of 'ethnic cleansing'", were condemned by the Security Council on 23 September.

In unanimously adopting resolution 941 (1994)—the first out of three on the former Yugoslavia in one day—the Council demanded that Bosnian Serb authorities "immediately cease their campaign of 'ethnic cleansing'", and accord immediate and unimpeded access for the Special Representative, UNPROFOR, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Committee of the Red Cross to Banja Luka, Bijeljina, and other areas of concern. The Secretary-General was asked to arrange the deployment of UNPROFOR troops and UN monitors to those areas.

The Council reaffirmed that those committing, or ordering to commit, such criminal acts would be held "individually responsible", and that parties to the conflict were bound to comply with international humanitarian law, in particular the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949.

All declarations and actions made under duress, particularly those regarding land and ownership, were "null and void", and "all displaced persons should be enabled to return in peace to their former homes", the Council stated.

On 2 September, in condemning the practice of ethnic cleansing "wherever it occurs and by whomsoever it is committed", the Council had called for the full implementation of the 8 June Geneva agreement on the release of detainees.

In a statement *(S/PRST/1994/50)* by Council President Yañez-Barnuevo, it also expressed concern about "continuing restrictions" on access to Sarajevo, as well as to Banja Luka, Bijeljina and other areas of concern, and urged the Bosnian Serbs to permit such access to the Special Representative and UNPROFOR.

Human rights

Although the establishment of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the "successful implementation of a cease-fire" between the Government forces and Bosnian Croat forces had set up an environment to begin the work of creating a "regime of respect for fundamental human rights", real progress in that regard would take "time and great commitment", Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki reported *(S/1994/967)* on 4 August.

Reconciliation efforts in the Federation area were "dependent on locally negotiated and implemented agreements", he said. Those were "shaped and constrained not only by the persistent demands for reciprocal arrangements", but also by the "scale of the problem of refugees and displaced persons", as well as the "deeply-held prejudices of many Muslims and Bosnian Croats alike".

Also, the building of mutual trust was "seriously hampered" by the sense that war criminals were still at large and appeared to "enjoy impunity", the Special Rapporteur stated. Indeed, in some instances, alleged war criminals had been given "positions of local or military authority". In that regard, he urged the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia to "move quickly to gain local trust" by deploying investigators, commencing prosecutions and establishing an effective information flow to and from the region.

In Sarajevo, with the "diminution of attacks", there was a "considerable amelioration in the situation of the people", the report said. But a "lack of hope and confidence" and a "sense of despair" as to the possibility of lasting improvements, particularly among young people, were noted.

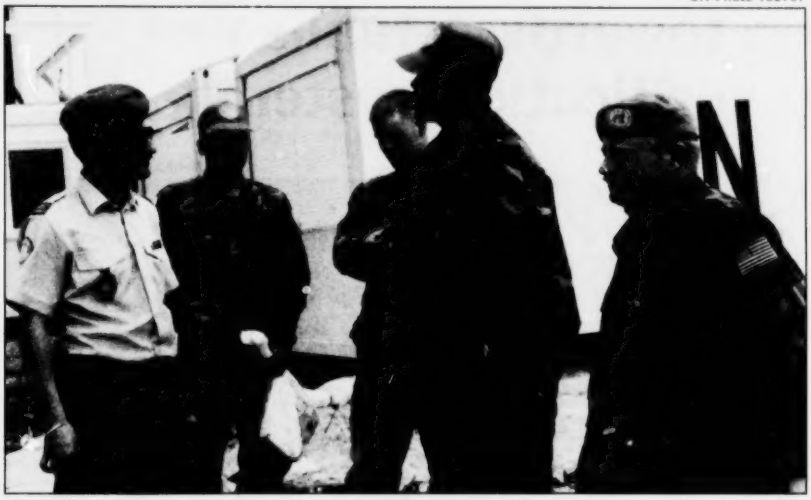
Mostar—devastated by fighting between Bosnian Croats and Muslims, as well as attacks of the Bosnian Serb forces—was "almost entirely divided" and governed by two authorities. There were reports of "ongoing harassment" of Muslims in areas controlled by Bosnian Croats, and a "form of 'soft ethnic cleansing'" continued to result in the displacement of Muslims from West to East Mostar.

UN Photo

Displaced persons have often lost their houses and possessions.

An 'increasingly complex situation'

UN Photo 186701



UN peace-keepers in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Also of grave concern was the humanitarian situation within the Bihac pocket—until recently, an "area of intensive internal conflict"—the Special Rapporteur stated.

In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM), the human rights situation was "still not satisfactory", although various steps had been taken to improve it, the Special Rapporteur said. That was mainly due to the lack of "effective legal means" for human rights protection and a "very difficult economic situation" resulting from international sanctions against the FRY and the economic embargo imposed by Greece.

Displacements, expulsions

Special Rapporteur Mazowiecki was also gravely concerned by the "ongoing massive forced displacements" perpetrated by Bosnian Serb forces. Over the last seven weeks, some 7,000 people had been forced to leave, he reported on 7 September, with the "majority through compulsory expulsion".

The displacements were "accompanied by physical abuse, extortion of large sums of money and the stripping from the displaced people of their possessions" as they left areas controlled by the Bosnian Serbs, Mr. Mazowiecki stated.

Continuing human rights violations in Serb-held areas of Bosnia, including "illegal detentions, forced labour and expulsions" of Muslim civilians, constituted a "flagrant violation of internationally recognized human rights and humanitarian principles", Special Representative Akashi said on 22 July.

In strongly condemning continuing violations, he appealed to the Bosnian Serb authorities to "immediately and unconditionally release all civilians illegally detained and to desist from further acts of forced removal of civilian population".

Aid situation

For the first time since the conflict erupted, the level of food aid to the former Yugoslavia was to be reduced, due to an improvement in the food situation in many areas, the World Food Programme (WFP) reported on 30 September.

That improvement was attributed to the success of the UN-led food aid effort, the formation of the Bosniac-Croat Federation—which had allowed "more commercial traffic to enter hard-hit areas" of Bosnia—and favourable weather that produced "good crop yields", WFP said.

By 20 September, a total of $78.1 million had been pledged to a UN action plan to restore essential services to Sarajevo by 21 Governments and the Soros Foundation.

Special Representative Akashi urged participants to "look beyond the difficulties and disappointments" and seek "imaginative ways of overcoming obstacles" to improving conditions for the city's residents during the coming winter. The parties to the conflict were urged to cooperate with Special Coordinator for Sarajevo William Eagleton.

The action plan—drafted by Mr. Eagleton under Council resolution 900 (1994) of 4 March—seeks some $540 million, with $254 million needed urgently. At a previous conference on 29 June in New York, pledges of more than $75 million had been announced.

A coordination committee—bringing together government officials, diplomats and representatives of UN entities, as well as intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations—meets every two weeks in Sarajevo to coordinate work on the plan.

Greece/FYROM

On 17 August, Greece and the FYROM were called upon by Security Council members to "cooperate fully" with the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, Cyrus Vance, in order to reach agreement on outstanding issues as soon as possible.

In that regard, Council members expressed some concern *(S/1994/979)* that, in spite of several rounds of discussions between the parties, the "principle difference of substance"—the name—remained unresolved. Council members were also concerned at the "possible consequences" of the current situation "for the maintenance of peace and stability in the region".

On 5 August, the Secretary-General had informed the Council *(S/1994/978)* that various proposals and a "number of new ideas" were "reviewed thoroughly with each party"—as Mr. Vance held separate meetings between 10 and 13 July with the Foreign Ministers of FYROM and Greece. Both parties had agreed to "resume discussions with Mr. Vance in the autumn", the Secretary-General said. ■

Steps taken towards establishing ongoing verification system

UN Photo 159103/H. Arvidsson

Inspection teams have overseen the process of disarmament. *Above*, checking unilateral destruction by Iraq of ballistic missiles at Dawrah.

The UN Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament (UNSCOM) has reported steps towards establishing an ongoing monitoring and verification system to ensure Iraq's compliance with the complex cease-fire agreement, as set out in Security Council resolution 687 (1991) following the Persian Gulf war.

UNSCOM Executive Chairman Rolf Ekéus on 11 July reported *(S/1994/860)* that Iraq was extending its "full cooperation" towards creating such a mechanism—expected to be operational by September 1994—according to a Joint Statement emanating from talks held in Baghdad on 4 and 5 July between representatives of Iraq and the Special Commission.

UNSCOM has overseen for more than three years the disarmament process in Iraq in the areas of chemical, biological, ballistic, nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. Only after such process and other conditions are met would sanctions against Iraq be lifted, the Council has stipulated.

"In the absence of new and unexpected disclosures", Mr. Ekéus reported, declared and otherwise identified chemical weapons, precursors and means for their production had been destroyed; declared biological research facilities had been eliminated; and "biological strains of concern to the Commission" were disposed of.

The Commission "believes that it has a credible accounting for all of Iraq's missiles with a range greater than 150 kilometres and that such missiles remaining in Iraq after the termination of hostilities have been destroyed", he said. Iraq's programme to develop a two-stage, long-range ballistic missile had also been terminated.

Mr. Ekéus also reported that in July 1993 Iraq indicated it would comply with provisions of the ongoing monitoring and verification plans, as contained in Council resolution 715 (1991). Previously, Iraq had "attempted to block any efforts" by UNSCOM to monitor Iraq's dual-purpose capabilities. On 28 November 1993, Iraq formally stated it would accept its obligations under resolution 715.

A proposed mechanism for export/import control was under review by the Security Council's Sanctions Committee. Once agreed upon, Mr. Ekéus stated, an effective and sustainable regime meeting Council requirements would be in place.

The proposal envisaged a system of timely notification, rather than licensing, of exports from States and imports into Iraq of items to be monitored. Iraq would be required to give advance notice of its acquisition of such items. That would be reinforced, he said, by the continuing right of the UNSCOM and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) to conduct no-notice inspections.

In the Joint Statement, the Special Commission had reported that baseline inspections and monitoring protocols in the missile area had been completed, as had the tagging of Iraq's remaining shorter-range missiles. In the chemical area, monitoring protocols had been completed for the principal facilities directly involved. Similar protocols for the remaining facilities, primarily oil refineries and fertilizer plants, were due to be completed by September.

Some 70 facilities for baseline inspections in the biological area had been identified and protocols were being prepared. In the nuclear area, the IAEA had indicated that the system for environmental monitoring was well established, and it already had adequate information for its monitoring activities.

As of 17 June, the IAEA had carried out 24 missions in Iraq to destroy, remove or render harmless proscribed items connected with the country's past nuclear activities, according to the Agency's sixth semi-annual report on the subject *(S/1994/793)* issued on 5 July. The process of gathering and consolidating, in a single location, all nuclear source material—such as uranium concentrates and other uranium compounds—existing in Iraq continued, the report stated.

The Russian Ministry for Atomic Energy had been contracted to reprocess all irradiated fuel assemblies removed from Iraq to recover the highly enriched uranium, which would then be isotopically diluted to less than 20 per cent enrichment by blending it with natural or depleted uranium, the report stated. The radioactive waste resulting from reprocessing would be adequately conditioned and permanently stored in a waste repository, as would the resulting separated plutonium.

Efforts would continue toward resolving the remaining uncertainties in the nuclear material inventory and flow chart submitted by the Iraqi authorities.

IAEA's twenty-fifth on-site inspection team—consisting of 12 inspectors from 11 nations, led by Chief Inspector Garry Dillon—visited (22 June-1 July) 24 facilities, installations and sites, and monitored the use of machine tools. The Agency reported *(S/1994/1001)* that the team uncovered no indication that the tools were being used for proscribed purposes. Inspections were also carried out at Tarmiya, Al Atheer and Al Sharqat—sites formerly associated with Iraq's nuclear weapons programme. A 10-camera multiplexed closed-circuit video surveillance system was monitoring the flow-forming machine workshop at the Nassr Engineering Establishment.

In an 11 July letter to the Council President *(S/1994/907)*, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali asked that Member States seek relevant information from petroleum companies under their jurisdiction regarding the whereabouts and amounts of any Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products imported by them on or after 1 June 1990. Such information should include the description, quantity and value of the imports, with details on the disposition of the proceeds of their sale.

The Secretary-General felt that that would be the most effective way of obtaining information on Iraqi exports before the imposition of economic sanctions on 6 August 1990. The proceeds of sales after that date have to be transferred to an escrow account provided for by the Council, and are to be used to settle claims for deaths and serious injuries resulting from Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait from August 1990 to January 1991. ■

LIBYA

Security Council arms and air embargo stays in place

Following consultations, Security Council members on 5 August decided to continue to review the air and arms embargo imposed against Libya in connection with terrorist bombings that took place in 1988 and 1989. The sanctions were ordered under Council resolution 748 (1992), and are reviewed every 120 days.

The Council President issued a statement on behalf of members in which he said that after hearing all opinions expressed during consultations, the Council had "concluded that there was no agreement that the necessary conditions existed" for modification of the embargo.

The embargo was imposed after France, the United Kingdom and the United States complained that Libya had failed to respond effectively to requests for full cooperation in establishing responsibility for the bombings.

In a 26 July letter *(S/1994/900)* to the Secretary-General, Libya said it had spared no effort to resolve its dispute with the United States, the United Kingdom and France.

Convinced of the importance of cooperating with the UN in the maintenance of international peace and security, Libya stated it had declared its total renunciation of terrorism in all its forms and its condemnation of all acts of terrorism.

Libya said it was ready to try in its country two Libyan nationals accused of the bombings, in keeping with the Montreal Convention, which stipulated that the Contracting State in the territory of which the alleged offender was found should, if it did not extradite him, bring him to trial without delay.

Libya would also accept an alternative proposal that the trial be held at the seat of the International Court of Justice at The Hague or at any UN premises on the European continent, with no opposition to the trial being conducted by a Scottish court applying Scots law.

The Council of the League of Arab States, in a 15 September resolution, called on the three Western States to respond to its previous resolution aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the crisis and avoiding escalation of the situation.

The Organization of African Unity and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Islamic States urged the Security Council to reconsider its resolutions 731 (1992), 748 (1992) and 883 (1993), and lift the embargo imposed on Libya.

In a 12 August letter to the Secretary-General *(S/1994/968)*, Mohamed A. Azawi of Libya said the United States' persistence in retaining and training 200 Libyan prisoners it had transported on 8 December 1990 from N'Djamena, Chad could only be interpreted as part of a scheme for launching hostile acts. Libya wanted resumption of contacts with the United States Government, a halt to those acts, and the release of the prisoners. ■

UN Photo 185385/M. Grant

Mr. Azawi

'Nightmare of fratricidal conflict' reported as refugee numbers swell

In urging all Afghan leaders to "heed the overwhelming desire for peace" expressed by their people and to cooperate with the UN Special Mission in a search for a "lasting ceasefire and a fully representative political process", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 7 September affirmed UN readiness to assist Afghanistan to "emerge from the long nightmare of fratricidal conflict and to curb unwarranted foreign interference" in its internal affairs.

In a statement following his meeting with representatives of Afghan parties and independent personalities, the Secretary-General—while on an official visit to Pakistan—also called for a moratorium on the shelling of Kabul and the opening of roads to permit resumption of delivery of urgently needed humanitarian supplies.

"The continuing hostilities and carnage in Afghanistan, long after the establishment of the Islamic State, are a matter of grave concern to me and the international community as a whole", he said. To address that concern, a UN Special Mission to Afghanistan—headed by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri of Tunisia—had been set up early in 1994. Regrettably, efforts to convene a joint meeting of the warring factions and leaders of the neutral parties had so far been unsuccessful, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated. Consequently, Mr. Mestiri wanted to convene a meeting of a broad-based group of Afghan leaders, including those from outside the country, "in the hope of breaking the deadlock".

It was reported that the number of displaced people in Afghanistan had risen to 1 million since intense fighting had resumed in Kabul in January.

Urging the world community to "assist Afghans in rebuilding their shattered country", the Security Council, in an 11 August statement, called on all States to take the necessary steps to promote peace in Afghanistan, stop the flow of weapons to the parties, and "put an end to this destructive conflict".

The Council also welcomed the recommendations *(S/1994/766)* of the Special Mission concerning the re-establishment of a UN physical political presence inside Afghanistan and setting up a working group to assist the UN peace efforts and preparations for an international conference on Afghanistan.

The Council deplored the continuing civil war which had "brought death and destruction" to the Afghans and created a "threat to the stability and security of other countries in the region". ■

UN Photo 123535/Sicelo

The world community should assist Afghans in rebuilding their shattered country, the Security Council urged.

UNHCR Photo/H. Gloaguen

The number of displaced persons has risen to 1 million since the beginning of 1994.

UN continues to monitor tense situations

The UN continued to monitor situations in some former Soviet republics, reporting it was "unstable and explosive" in Tajikistan, "tense" between Armenia and Azerbaijan, and "positive" in light of withdrawals of Russian troops from Estonia, Latvia and Moldova.

Tajikistan

In welcoming a 17 September Agreement on a provisional cease-fire between the Tajik Government and the opposition, signed in Teheran, after high-level inter-Tajik consultations, the Security Council on 22 September reaffirmed full support for the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, Ramiro Piriz-Ballon of Uruguay, to promote political dialogue aimed at "achieving national reconciliation".

In a statement by its President, Juan Antonio Yañez-Barnuevo of Spain, the Council also emphasized the importance of "strict observance of the cease-fire and cessation of other hostile actions".

On 27 September the Secretary-General stated *(S/1994/1102)* he was receiving "encouraging reports" on "positive changes in the atmosphere in the country" after the signing of the Agreement, which was "essential for mutual confidence-building".

However, he noted "alarming reports of attempts by each side to bring as much territory as possible under its control" before the Agreement came into force with the deployment of UN observers. He appealed for "maximum mutual restraint" and said he would dispatch a technical mission to Tajikistan to assess modalities for establishing a future observer mission.

On 28 July, the Secretary-General had noted *(S/1994/893)* with regret that the Tajik Government still "lacked the political will" to implement the necessary confidence-building measures, while the opposition continued its armed struggle, through "acts of terrorism and sabotage inside the country".

In August, the situation on the ground had deteriorated further, with the "resurgence of hostilities in the Tajik-Afghan border areas", he reported *(A/49/1)* on 2 September. Following a 23 August meeting between senior UN officials and representatives of Afghanistan, Iran, Pakistan, the Russian Federation and Uzbekistan, the Special Envoy had been sent to Dushanbe to "use his good offices" to restart the inter-Tajik negotiations.

Armenia/Azerbaijan

Although the situation remained tense in and around Nagorny Karabakh—an Armenian-populated enclave in Azerbaijan—the 12 May cease-fire had been holding, the Secretary-General reported. Moreover, on 27 July and 28 August, the parties had affirmed their readiness to intensify talks aimed at deployment of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) observers and international security forces.

Until then they had undertaken "not to violate the cease-fire under any condition", he said.

Jan Eliasson, Chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference and Minsk Group, told the Security Council *(S/1994/1106)* on 26 September that a cease-fire was "only a first step towards lasting peace". A "viable consolidated plan for a peaceful solution" to end the tragic conflict was needed.

Baltic States

The withdrawal of Russian troops from Estonia and Latvia in August 1994—which followed a similar move in 1993 in Lithuania—constituted "significant progress", the Secretary-General said on 2 September. Thus, negotiations called for in General Assembly resolution 47/21 of 25 November 1992 had been "successfully completed", he reported.

In return, Latvia permitted the Russian Federation to operate an early warning radar station at Skrunda for four years, and agreed to grant social benefits to Russian retired military personnel in its territory. Estonia had signed an agreement on the Russian Federation's naval training centre at Paldiski, and would grant residential permits to retired servicemen, provided they did not pose a threat to its security, the Secretary-General said.

However, there were still "some points of concern", he said on 22 September *(A/49/419)*. According to Estonian and Latvian authorities, a "significant number" of Russian officers had been demobilized, instead of being withdrawn "as a part of a military contingent". Also, Estonia and Latvia expressed concerns about the environmental damage caused by the Russian troops deployment on their territories.

Moldova

The 10 August agreement on the withdrawal within three years of the Russian Federation's 14th army from the Transnistria region—a Slav-dominated area in Moldova, where ethnic Russians and Ukranians account for some 53 per cent of the population—was an "encouraging development", the Secretary-General stated on 2 September, which could help bring about a negotiated settlement. The withdrawal was to be synchronized with a political settlement of the Dniester conflict. ■

Mission expanded to monitor pact
Peacemaking efforts continue

An increase up to 136 military observers in the strength of the UN Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) was authorized by the Security Council on 21 July. It currently had 55 members. In unanimously adopting resolution 937 (1994), the Council also extended the Mission's mandate until 13 January 1995.

An expanded UNOMIG, the Council said, could monitor implementation by Georgia and Abkhazia—a small Black Sea enclave attempting to secede from Georgia—of the 14 May Agreement on a Cease-fire and Separation of Forces signed in Moscow, and observe the operation of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) peace-keeping force.

In addition, the Mission was to verify that troops and heavy military equipment did not remain in or return to a 24-kilometre-wide security zone, established under the Agreement, or to the restricted weapons zones.

Also under its new mandate, UNOMIG was to: monitor the storage areas for heavy military equipment withdrawn from those zones; monitor the withdrawal of Georgian troops from the Kodori valley, while regularly patrolling the area; investigate reported or alleged violations of the Agreement and attempt to resolve such incidents; and maintain close contacts with both parties to the conflict, cooperate with the CIS peace-keeping force and, by its presence, contribute to conditions conducive to the safe and orderly return of refugees and displaced persons.

The Secretary-General was asked to establish an appropriate arrangement for delineating the respective roles and responsibilities of UNOMIG and the CIS peace-keeping force, and set up a voluntary fund for contributions in support of the Agreement implementation.

UNHCR/24096/R. Redmond

Displaced Georgians are sometimes housed at former Russian military bases.

Welcoming the parties' wish to see the UN actively involved in the search for a political settlement, the Council also asked them for "full support, necessary protection and freedom of movement" for UNOMIG, both within the zone of operations of the CIS peace-keeping force and in other relevant parts of Georgia.

On 31 August, Albania, Cuba, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Turkey and the United States were added to the list of countries contributing troops to UNOMIG.

'Relative calm'

The situation on the ground in Abkhazia was relatively calm and had "improved with the arrival of the CIS peace-keeping force in the area", although it still remained tense in the Kodori valley. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1994/818)* on 12 July.

Preparations were proceeding for the start of the voluntary return programme for refugees and displaced persons, as agreed by the parties, he said. Meanwhile, "some spontaneous return" continued and had apparently increased, which had led to a "corresponding increase in the number of mine accidents", particularly in the Gali region, according to reports.

As large-scale spontaneous returns had evidently put a "strain on the local situation and infrastructure", all efforts were being made to "commence the organized return process as soon as possible", he stated. An important factor affecting such process was obtaining the necessary funds.

Some progress had already been made. Transportation, transit and reception facilities, as well as implementing agencies, had been identified, and "some potential donors" had been approached for in-kind contributions, he reported.

The Secretary-General was confident that the first joint venture between the UN and the CIS would "enhance the effectiveness of efforts by States to promote peace and security in a troubled era".

Emergency aid

In order to feed almost 500,000 displaced people and others suffering the effects of "civil strife, political instability and economic upheaval" in Georgia, the World Food Programme announced on 8 September that it would "greatly expand" its emergency food assistance to that country.

Georgia—once one of the most prosperous Soviet republics—was plunging "deeper and deeper into chaos" since its independence in 1991 and the outbreak of hostilities, WFP said. Its annual inflation rate had topped 2,000 per cent in early 1994 and the national currency had depreciated in value by several thousand per cent since September 1993. ■

WESTERN SAHARA

Voter identification process continues

The Security Council on 29 July commended the work of the Identification Commission of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO), which was processing more than 75,000 voter application forms that had been received.

In its statement *(S/PRST/1994/39)*, the Council welcomed the goodwill shown thus far by the parties and urged them to continue to cooperate with the Secretary-General and MINURSO to ensure the earliest possible implementation of the settlement plan.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had proposed a revised timetable for the organization of the referendum for self-determination of the people of Western Sahara, scheduled to take place on 14 February 1995.

According to the Secretary-General's report of 12 July *(S/1994/819)*, the groundwork for the voter identification process had been completed, but it could not start the operation because of Morocco's concerns over the choice of two officials of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as observers. Morocco had questioned the impartiality of OAU and stated that by recognizing the so-called Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (SADR), OAU had already prejudged the outcome of the referendum.

Morocco had also maintained that OAU could not participate in the organization of the referendum if it persisted in recognizing the SADR, the report stated. On the other hand, the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Rio de Oro (Frente POLISARIO) had stressed that the identification operation could only begin with an OAU presence.

The Secretary-General said he intended to recommend that the transitional period should start on 1 October and end with the proclamation of the referendum results.

As soon as possible, after 1 October, prisoners-of-war would be exchanged, amnesties for political prisoners and returnees proclaimed, and all political prisoners and detainees released.

By 15 December, the reduction of Moroccan forces in the Territory was to be completed and all laws or measures that could obstruct the conduct of a free and fair referendum were to be suspended, according to the report. And on 15 December, the repatriation programme was to begin and the paramilitary units in the existing police forces neutralized. The referendum campaign was to begin on 25 January 1995.

After consultations with the Secretary-General, the Chairman of the OAU had provided "a unique and indivisible list" of four OAU observers. ■

DECOLONIZATION

Special Committee concludes session

The Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples concluded its 1994 session on 15 September.

At the final meeting, Committee Chairman Remirez de Estenoz of Cuba said that at "nearly the half-way point" of the International Decade for the Eradication of Colonialism (1990-2000), action in support of the Decade "must be based on the wishes of the people of the Territories concerned regarding their future status".

He also stressed the "critical importance of the cooperation and participation" of administering Powers in the work of the Committee, and of the dispatch of visiting missions to the Territories to obtain first-hand information on specific conditions and problems.

The Special Committee approved a report of its Visiting Mission to Tokelau and a resolution asking specialized agencies and other UN organizations to examine the conditions in each Non- Self-Governing Territory so as to accelerate its economic and social progress.

In July, the Special Committee had adopted two resolutions covering 10 small Non-Self-Governing Territories: American Samoa, Anguilla, Bermuda, British Virgin Islands, Cayman Islands, Guam, Montserrat, Tokelau, Turks and Caicos Islands, and the United States Virgin Islands. It declared that it was ultimately for the people of those Territories to "determine freely their future political status".

Resolutions on the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and New Caledonia, as well as decisions on Pitcairn and St. Helena, were also adopted. Western Sahara, East Timor and Gibraltar were considered too. The issue of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Palau) was postponed until 1995. The Committee also heard a number of petitioners on Puerto Rico.

In two other texts, the Committee condemned the activities of foreign economic, financial and other interests that continued to exploit the human and natural resources of the indigenous peoples of colonial and Non-Self-Governing Territories, as well as military activities by colonial Powers that violated the rights and interests of peoples in Territories they administered. ■

Washington Declaration welcomed as prelude to final treaty

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 26 July warmly welcomed the signing of the Washington Declaration, ending the state of belligerency between Jordan and Israel, which he hoped would "accelerate the process of achieving a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East".

He applauded the statesmanship shown by King Hussein of Jordan and Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, which had culminated in a historic ceremony on 25 July at the White House in Washington, D. C., witnessed by United States President William J. Clinton.

The Declaration *(A/49/300-S/1994/939)* stated that "after generations of hostility, blood and tears and in the wake of years of pain and wars", the state of belligerency between Jordan and Israel "has been terminated".

Determined to "bring an end to bloodshed and sorrow", Jordan and Israel would "vigorously continue their negotiations to arrive at a state of peace based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) in all their aspects" and, by the Declaration, "recognize their right and obligation to live in peace with each other, as well as with all States within secure and recognized boundaries". They also affirmed their respect for and acknowledgement of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of every State in the area. They expressed "their desire to develop good neighbourly relations of cooperation" to ensure lasting security.

Among other things, Jordan and Israel decided to open direct telephone links, link their electricity grids, open two new border crossings, and "in principle" give free access to third country tourists travelling between Jordan and Israel.

AP/Wide World Photos

From left, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, King Hussein of Jordan and United States President William J. Clinton at the White House on 25 July.

These steps would be implemented within the framework of regional infrastructural development plans and in conjunction with their bilateral negotiations on boundaries, security, water and related issues.

On 29 July, the Economic and Social Council expressed its full support *(resolution 1994/44)* for the achievements of the peace process thus far, including the Washington Declaration.

Arafat in Gaza

Large crowds of Palestinians throughout the Gaza Strip turned out on 1 July to welcome the Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), Yasser Arafat, on his historic return.

"The popular reception he received reflected the popular support for the peace process and Palestinian leadership", said Kéba Birane Cissé of Senegal, Chairman of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, on 27 July.

The launching of interim self-government and the establishment of the Palestinian Authority was envisioned in the 13 September 1993 Declaration of Principles on Interim Self-Government Arrangements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. An Agreement on the Gaza Strip and the Jericho area, signed on 4 May in Cairo, represented the first phase of the implementation of that Declaration.

UNRWA to move its headquarters

The Secretary-General, at a 29 June Inter-agency Meeting on United Nations Assistance to the occupied territories, stressed the importance of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) moving its headquarters from Vienna to Gaza by the end of 1995.

In a 19 July report *(A/49/263-E/1994/112)*, the Secretary-General drew attention to the establishment of a

specific mechanism to ensure effective coordination and intensification of UN assistance to the Palestinian people to meet their immediate and longer-term needs. He also outlined the steps taken to enhance UN economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people.

The UN, together with France, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and the United Kingdom, had set up a programme to train instructors for a new Palestinian police force, he reported.

On 27 July, the Economic and Social Council called for intensified assistance *(resolution 1994/29)* for the Palestinian people and suggested convening in 1995 a seminar on Palestinian administrative, managerial and financial needs and challenges in light of new developments.

International meetings

The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People convened in Paris from 20 to 22 June a UN-sponsored Seminar on Palestinian Trade and Investment Needs.

The Eleventh UN North American Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) Symposium on the Question of Palestine was held from 6 to 8 July in Toronto, Canada. Symposium participants analyzed the Israeli-PLO Declaration of Principles and discussed the economic development, health and education needs and the promotion of co-existence between the two peoples.

A combined UN International NGO Meeting and European NGO Symposium was held in Geneva from 29 August to 1 September, with the theme "Building on the Declaration of Principles Towards the Independent Palestinian State". In a message, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali urged NGOs to renew their commitment to development and reinforce their contribution to peace. "The peace accords have been prepared by diplomats and negotiators", he said. NGOs should now help "turn these agreements into tangible benefits for the Palestinians".

UNIFIL mandate extended

The Security Council on 28 July renewed the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for six months, until 31 January 1995. By resolution 938 (1994), the Council called on all parties concerned to cooperate with the Force for the full implementation of its mandate. Strong support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon was restated.

Following consultations, Council President Jamsheed K.A. Marker of Pakistan issued a statement expressing members' concern over the continuing violence in southern Lebanon and their regret at the resulting loss of civilian life. UNIFIL personnel were commended for their sacrifices, and the Lebanese Government "for its successful efforts to extend its authority in the south of the country in full coordination with UNIFIL".

On 20 July, the Secretary-General had reported *(S/1994/856)* that the situation in southern Lebanon remained tense and volatile. The Force's contribution to stability and the protection it was able to afford the population remained important, he said.

The Council's attention was also called to a severe funding shortfall of more than $254 million, which could be ameliorated only by a reduction in UNIFIL's strength. Mr. Boutros-Ghali had initiated a study to determine how the Force could continue its essential functions under such circumstances.

UNIFIL was established in 1978 under Council resolution 425 (1978) to monitor Israeli withdrawal from southern Lebanon and to assist the Lebanese Government in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area. ■

CYPRUS

'Far-reaching reflection' on issues asked

The Security Council on 29 July asked the Secretary-General to launch consultations for a "fundamental and far-reaching reflection" on ways of approaching the Cyprus problem that would yield results, and to report to the Council by the end of October.

The Council acted by unanimously adopting resolution 939 (1994), in which it reiterated that the maintenance of the status quo in Cyprus was unacceptable. All parties were called on to demonstrate their commitment by cooperating fully in the Secretary-General's consultations with Council members, the Guarantor Powers—Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom—and the two leaders in Cyprus.

The Council reaffirmed that a settlement must be based on a State of Cyprus, with a single sovereignty and a single citizenship and comprising two politically equal communities in a bi-communal and bi-zonal federation. Such a settlement must exclude any form of partition, secession or union with any other country.

In addition, the Council reaffirmed the significant benefits to both Turkish Cypriot and Greek Cypriot communities of the package of confidence-building measures, involving the civilian and economic usage of the fenced area of Varosha and the restoration of the Nicosia International Airport. The Council urged the parties to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General and his Special Representative to achieve agreement on the modalities for implementing the confidence-building measures at the earliest possible time.

(The measures, first presented in July 1993, were accepted in principle by both parties in January 1994.) ■

Despite successes, UN operations need more support

The courage and dedication of UN peace-keepers—despite all the difficulties they face—has resulted in "enormous good" over the past year, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared on 2 September. UN personnel helped bring peace—"not just the temporary absence of overt hostilities, but genuine long-term peace"—to peoples who had not known it for decades.

Cease-fires gave rise to "stronger, more responsive institutions of governance", greater respect for human rights, and the "reconstruction and rehabilitation" of devastated countries. Tens of thousands of starving people were fed, "no mean feats", the Secretary-General said. Peace-keeping operations had made possible the "beginnings of development", he stated.

In his annual report *(A/49/1)*, the Secretary-General said that there had been 164 military fatalities in 1993 and 108 people killed in the first eight months of 1994. Those responsible must be identified and brought to justice, he stated.

The role of public information in promoting understanding and generating support for UN peace-keeping was of key importance, he continued. Among other things, that would help to ensure that the Organization's "crucial if dangerous operations draw strength from the force of public opinion, rather than be weakened by it".

Thus, some major peace-keeping problems might be better addressed, such as the increasing difficulty in finding sufficient troops and other personnel for the "most challenging operations", exacerbated by the UN's acute financial crisis, and the caution of national Governments in contributing forces in missions solely under UN control.

A multifaceted plan to enable the UN to take up a wider mission in the pursuit and preservation of world peace had been initially introduced by the Secretary-General in his 1992 "An Agenda for Peace", the Secretary-General reported. Further measures to improve the Organization's peace-keeping capacity, including stand-by arrangements, were recommended in a 14 March report on the subject.

UN Photo

UN peace-keeping operations over the years have taken on wider mandates.

As of 2 September, written offers of more than 31,000 troops had been made by 22 Member States, the Secretary-General reported. However, there were still "deficiencies" in the areas of communications, health services, supply, engineers and transportation.

A stand-by arrangements management unit had been created to develop and maintain an overall database and explore possibilities of participation with all remaining Member States, the Secretary-General said.

A major limiting factor in timely deployment of UN peace-keeping troops lay in the "lack of readily available equipment", the Security Council stated on 27 July, urging that such issue be addressed "both in the context of stand-by arrangements and more broadly".

In a statement by its President, Jamsheed K. A. Marker of Pakistan, the Council also reiterated the importance of improving the UN capacity for "rapid deployment and reinforcement of peace-keeping operations". While welcoming responses from some Member States, the Council noted that the commitments made so far did "not yet cover adequately the spectrum of resources required to mount and execute future peace-keeping operations". ■

Criminal court statute adopted

Adoption of a 60-article draft statute for an international criminal court marked the forty-sixth session (2 May-22 July, Geneva) of the International Law Commission (ILC). The instrument had been requested in 1993 by the General Assembly in its resolution 48/31 as a "matter of priority".

The jurisdiction of the Court extends to: acts of aggression; genocide; apartheid; exceptionally serious war crimes; systematic or massive violations of human rights; torture, hostage taking; hijacking; and illicit trafficking in narcotic drugs.

The draft statute is divided into eight main parts: establishment of the Court; composition and administration; jurisdiction; investigation and prosecution; trial; appeal and review; international cooperation and judicial assistance; and enforcement.

The court's jurisdiction, unanimously considered as the core of the draft statute, does not necessarily rule out the authority of national tribunals over the same crimes. For the court to have discretion over a specific case, its jurisdiction must be accepted by: the State which has custody of the suspect; the State where the act or omission in question occurred; and the State which, under an international agreement, asked the custodial State to surrender a suspect for the purpose of prosecution.

Under draft article 23, the court also has jurisdiction over crimes referred to it by the UN Security Council acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter—that is, in the maintenance of international peace and security. However, the draft statute says, "no prosecution may be commenced" on a situation being dealt with by the Council as a threat to or breach of the peace or an act of aggression, "unless the Security Council otherwise decides".

The text *(A/49/10)* was transmitted for consideration by the Assembly at its forty-ninth session.

Other issues

In other areas, the ILC started the second reading of the draft code of crimes against the peace and security of mankind. Progress was also achieved on two other substantive matters.

On second reading, a complete set of 33 draft articles on the law of the non-navigational uses of international watercourses was adopted, together with a draft resolution on transboundary confined groundwater. The Commission recommended the texts to the Assembly, with a view to elaborating a convention by the Assembly or by an international conference of plenipotentiaries.

On the "international liability for injurious consequences arising out of acts not prohibited by international law", the Commission provisionally adopted a complete set of articles relating to preventive measures applicable to activities with the risk of transboundary harm.

With regard to State responsibility, the question of crimes under article 19 of part I of the draft was extensively discussed.

The Commission, established by the Assembly in 1947, is mandated to promote the progressive development of international law and its codification on important topics of international law. Its 34 experts represent the world's main legal systems.

Among the international instruments that have emerged as a result of the ILC's work are conventions on: diplomatic and consular relations; the law of treaties; prevention and punishment of crimes against internationally protected persons, including diplomatic agents; representation of States in their relations with international organizations of a universal character; succession of States in respect of State property, archives and debts; and the law of treaties between States and international organizations, or between international organizations. ■

Progress made on staff security convention

A revised negotiating text for an international convention dealing with the safety and security of UN and associated personnel was the outcome of the second and final session (1-12 August, New York) of the Ad Hoc Committee on the elaboration of that convention.

The Committee reported that the draft was intended to serve as a "negotiating text without committing or prejudicing the position of any delegation on any of its provisions"; however, disagreements remained on who exactly should be covered and under what circumstances. Also, some definitions —such as "UN and associated personnel" and "UN operation" —had to be further clarified.

Nevertheless, the "progress we have made at this session is not so minor", Committee Chairman Philippe Kirsch of Canada commented at session's end. If agreement could be reached on the document's scope of application, the rest would fall into place without any difficulty, he said. Delegations should work towards reaching a final agreement on the convention.

In line with General Assembly resolution 48/37, the Committee recommended that the Assembly re-establish a working group in the framework of the Sixth (Legal) Committee to continue consideration of the revised text.

Preparatory Commission finishes its work

'Through rough waters to a safe port', says Chairman

Although the Preparatory Commission for the International Seabed Authority and for the International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea had "gone through rough waters", it had "arrived at a safe port", Commission Chairman José Luis Jesus of Cape Verde said, as the body concluded its last session on 12 August, ending 12 years of work.

In its final report, the Commission recommended approval of a $2.5-million expenditure to establish and operate the International Seabed Authority, starting on 16 November 1994, for an initial 13-month period. The Authority is to be headed by a Secretary-General who would start work on 1 June 1995.

At the session (1-12 August, New York), the Commission decided that practical arrangements for establishing the Tribunal would be considered in an ad hoc meeting—to be held later in 1994—of States parties to the 1982 UN Convention on the Law of the Sea. It also approved the registration of the Republic of Korea as a pioneer investor and waived the $1 million annual fee provided for in the Convention for pioneer investors.

Set up in 1982 by the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, the Preparatory Commission was mandated to make all the arrangements for the establishment and operation of the International Seabed Authority and the Tribunal. It was to cease its functions following the conclusion of the first Assembly session of the Authority, which was to meet upon the entry into force of the Convention. Having achieved the 60 required ratifications or accessions—64 by the end of July—it entered into force on 16 November 1994.

UN Photo 185609

On 29 July, 42 countries signed the new agreement on mining. *Above*, Ambassador Gerhard Henze of Germany signs the document.

On 28 July, the UN General Assembly adopted the Agreement on the implementation of the deep seabed mining provisions of the 1982 Convention, intended to pave the way for universal participation in the treaty by removing some of the obstacles dealing mainly with the Convention's seabed mining provisions which had stood in the way of ratification or accession by many countries, particularly the industrialized States.

The Assembly acted by adopting resolution 48/263 by a vote of 121 to none, with 7 abstentions.

Final report

The Commission's report to the Authority contained recommendations from its four Special Commissions dealing with: problems of land-based producer States that would be adversely affected by seabed mining of minerals; the Enterprise—the seabed mining arm of the Authority; the seabed mining code; and the International Tribunal.

The Assembly of the Authority was to meet for a three-day ceremonial meeting (16-18 November), a three-week substantive organizational meeting (27 February-17 March 1995), and a two-week resumed substantive meeting (7-18 August 1995), all to be held in Kingston, Jamaica, the seat of the Authority.

Chairman Luis Jesus said that the General Committee had discussed the question of relinquishment of pioneer areas, and noted the notification of relinquishment by the registered pioneer investors—India and the Interoceanmetal Joint Organization (IOM).

Due to the recent sinking of its research vessel, China had postponed complying with such arrangements, but indicated that it intended to relinquish 30 per cent of its allocated area.

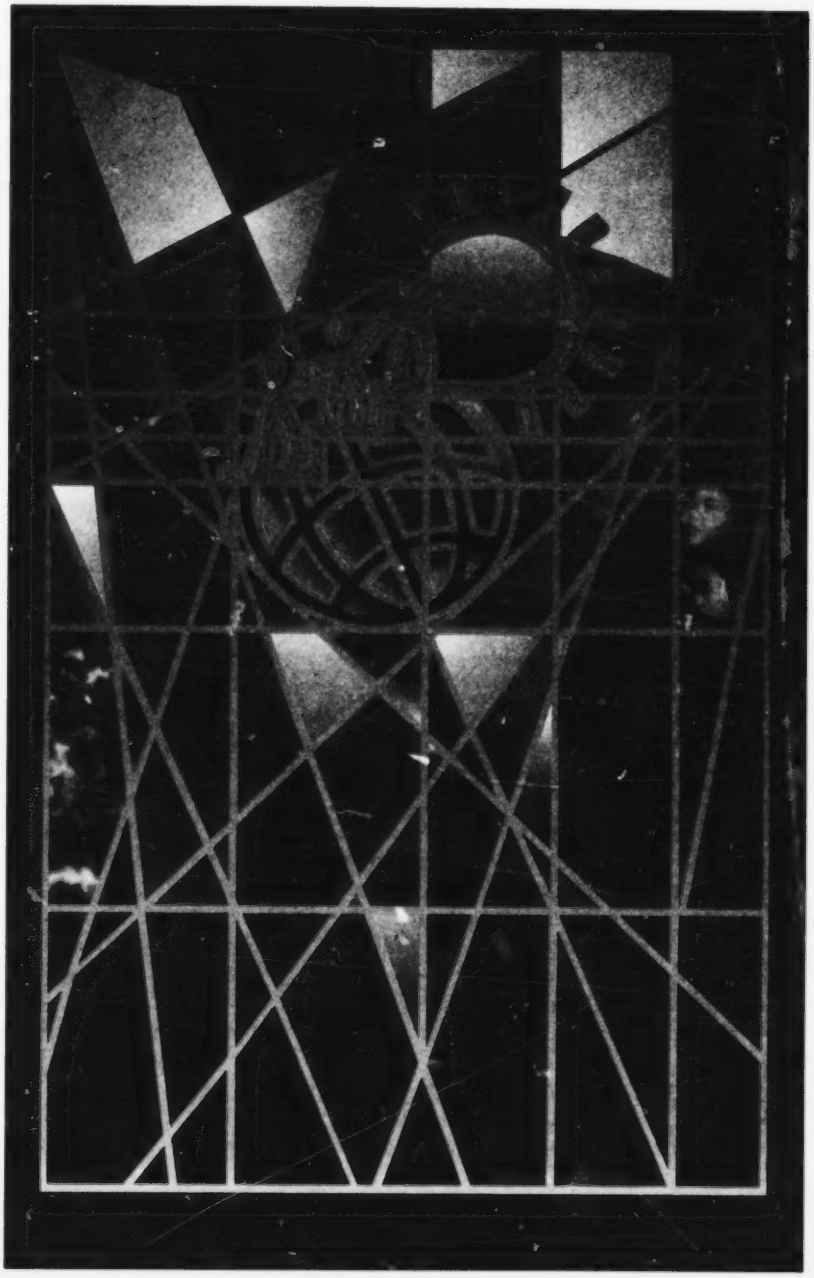
Under the Convention, pioneer investors are to relinquish portions of the area where they are conducting pioneer activities, in accordance with an eight-year schedule, which would then revert to the International Seabed Authority.

The General Committee also noted the report on the IOM fulfilling its obligations and the final report of the Training Panel, which administered the training programme to be provided by pioneer investors prior to the Convention's entry into force. ■

Attacking Poverty Building Solidarity Creating Jobs

The ABCs of a Better Life

By Nancy Seufert-Barr



More than a billion people live in extreme poverty—without jobs, without basic necessities, without hope. Social inequalities and polarization are deepening. Jobs have become so scarce in most regions of the world that high unemployment may be turning into a permanent feature of the modern economy, swelling the ranks of the poor and undermining social stability.

Poverty, social disintegration, joblessness: the statistics can seem overwhelming, the questions they raise are complex. How can these conditions be alleviated? How can the poor become productive members of society? Can intolerance and racism be ended?

World Summit for Social Development

How can regions torn by ethnic and national differences bring their people together? How can nations create new jobs and ensure that they are not only plentiful, but productive and satisfying for all?

National leaders and delegations intend to grapple with these questions—and draw up a plan of action to address them—when they meet from 6 to 12 March 1995 at the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen, Denmark. The gathering will include a two-day summit at the level of heads of State or Government, following meetings among their personal representatives and other high-level officials and experts.

"This will be the first time in the history of the United Nations, or the League of Nations, in which heads of State and Government will convene to deal with social development as a priority issue of the international agenda", said the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Summit, Juan O. Somavia of Chile.

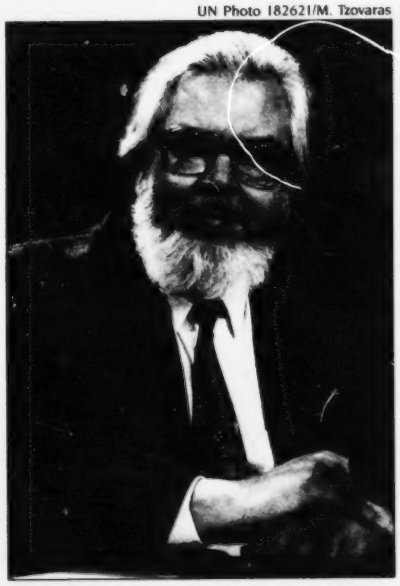
Seeking higher standards

The Summit furthers the commitment made in the UN Charter to promote "higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development with a view to the creation of conditions of stability and well-being".

Three core issues—poverty, unemployment and social disintegration—have been identified by the General Assembly as severe problems of modern society, whose solution is crucially important to social development. These issues will provide the focus of the Summit's work, based on the premise that a lack of security in people's daily lives—for want of productive employment, a decent standard of living and social cohesion—is eroding the moral fibre of contemporary societies.

"In rich countries and in poor countries, in large countries and in small, there is a prevailing sense of imminent social disorder", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the Summit's Preparatory Committee at its first meeting in January. He opened the second session by telling delegates that "the global social crisis threatens many States as much as any foreign army", and "without investment in social development, the foundations of peace will not be secured".

UN Photo 182621/M. Tzovaras



Ambassador Juan O. Somavia of Chile, Summit Preparatory Committee Chairman

Increased international cooperation for economic and social development would "significantly contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security", the Assembly declared in December 1992 *(resolution 47/92)*, authorizing the holding of the 1995 event. The Assembly decided that in addition to addressing the core issues, the Summit should express a shared worldwide commitment to put the needs of people at the centre of development.

The proposal for convening the Social Development Summit was originally presented by Mr. Somavia to the Economic and Social Council in May 1991 as a follow-up to an address to the Assembly by Chilean President Patricio Aylwin, in which he highlighted the role social development could play in world political stability.

Summit participants are expected to adopt a declaration and a programme of action, which are being drafted by the Preparatory Committee. Following its second session (22 August-2 September, New York), the Committee suggested that a draft declaration would have Governments commit to:

- Giving the highest priority to the promotion of social progress;
- Eradicating poverty in the shortest period possible;
- Enabling all people to earn freely chosen livelihoods;
- Promoting social integration by fostering inclusive, participatory, just, safe and stable societies for all people;
- Making structural adjustment programmes more socially-oriented;
- Generating sufficient resources to fulfil social development objectives; and
- Improving the international economic environment and international financial assistance.

Acknowledging the urgency

The draft declaration would also have world leaders acknowledge that the people of the world have signalled in different ways an urgent need to address profound social problems pervasive in all societies. According to the proposed text, the world's peoples:

- Cannot live and work in peace and in harmony with one another and with their environment when a large part of humanity lives in widespread poverty;
- Cannot accept the indignity, suffering and waste of so many men, women and children caused by a lack of productive employment and livelihood;
- Cannot make our societies places of creative energy and collective prosperity when the capacity of individuals and groups of different cultures, gender, races, economic conditions, interest and aspirations is so fragile.

The draft declaration is expected to include sections on: the current social situation; principles, common values and goals; and commitments. It is proposed that Summit aims should include actions which place people

at the centre of development and the economy at the service of human needs". Those actions should protect the environment and integrate economic and social policies.

The Preparatory Committee has so far "set the territory" for the types of issues that need to go in the political Declaration, said Chairman Somavia on 2 September. "After very extensive discussions, we feel that we have all the elements for putting together the next stage of negotiations."

Informal consultations on a draft declaration and a draft programme of action continued in October, in conjunction with discussion of the Summit during the forty-ninth session of the General Assembly. A third and final preparatory session, set for 16 to 27 January 1995 in New York, will iron out remaining areas of disagreement.

Focusing on new strategies

The Programme of Action will complement the Declaration by proposing in detail actions to be taken to implement social development strategies. It is expected to focus on strategies in five areas: ensuring an enabling environment for social development; reducing and eliminating widespread poverty; creating productive employment and reducing unemployment; social integration; and implementation and follow-up, taking advantage of the capabilities of the UN system, international financial institutions and other intergovernmental organizations.

Much of the second session was devoted to identifying areas of agreement in the draft Programme of Action. Numerous additions and revisions were made to the original draft, which emanated from the first preparatory session in January 1994. There was wide agreement that the draft should be restructured to show more clearly the "Basis for Action", "Objectives" and "Actions" proposed under each section, along the lines of "Agenda 21", the action plan adopted at the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development—the Earth Summit.

Summit goals should "place people at the centre of development and the economy at the service of human needs".

—Preparatory Committee Chairman Juan O. Somavia

UNICEF 1809/86/Peter Hense

Poverty in Colombia.

UN Photo 148041/J. P. Laffont/Sygma

Street entertainers of India.

It is far cheaper and humane to address the root causes of human insecurity rather than their tragic consequences.

—James Gustave Speth, UNDP Administrator

In addition, several key issues must be resolved, including: the right to migrate; debt reduction; structural adjustment; official development assistance; proposal for a social security council; broadening the understanding of work to include informal activities; and the role of the family. Among conceptual points that need further elaboration are: the definition of poverty; the concepts of human security and sustainable human development; and the 20/20 initiative, which calls for donor countries to allocate 20 per cent of their development assistance and developing countries to allocate 20 per cent of their budgets for social development programmes.

Agenda for development

The Social Development Summit is linked to the Secretary-General's report on his new "An Agenda for Development", released in May 1994 as a counterpart to his 1992 report, "An Agenda for Peace", which outlines his vision of the UN's peace-keeping mission.

As the UN struggles to cope with a seemingly endless series of regional and ethnic conflicts, such as those in Rwanda and Bosnia and Herzegovina, the need to revitalize the Organization's preventive role in reducing poverty and bridging global inequalities has also come to the fore.

Spearheading the fiftieth anniversary of the UN, the 1995 Summit also occupies a central position in a constellation of other international gatherings on global development issues, including the 1990 World Summit for Children, the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, the upcoming Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, and the 1996 UN Conference on Human Settlements.

In particular, the Summit will build on the accomplishments of the Earth Summit. At that Conference in Rio de Janeiro, more than 150 nations agreed that "human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development". Earth Summit leaders also concluded that preserving the planet for future generations will require nothing less than the eradication of poverty; the elimination of wasteful patterns of consumption; a supportive and open international economic system; and the participation of all concerned citizens, especially women, the young, indigenous peoples and local communities.

The world situation

The world has witnessed unprecedented material progress in the last half of the twentieth century. But the benefits of this progress have not been distributed equally. The gulf between the haves and the have-nots has widened dramatically in recent years, between rich and poor nations, between rich and poor citizens.

Even in the most prosperous nations, the dimensions of this crisis are unmistakable: in developed countries, 1 of every 10 people of working age cannot find a job that pays a living wage. The young no longer see the usefulness of education, when tried-and-true social values become suddenly obsolete, and when solidarity between individuals and groups is eroded, replaced by individual or political egoism. Moreover, in virtually every region of the world, there is rising insecurity brought on by the effects of crime, substance abuse and drug trafficking.

At the same time, rather than providing a so-called "peace dividend", the end of the cold war has had a destabilizing effect. Cut adrift from the moorings of bipolar super-Power rivalry, many nations have become caught up in ethnic violence and civil warfare. Developing countries have lost the influence they once wielded as objects of cold war competition—and their leaders contend that they are inadequately represented in decisions on international trade and finance.

UNHCR/24069/P. Moumtzis

ETA Foto/Toomas Volmer

Kurdish refugees in Estonia *(above)*; Rwandan refugees on the road *(left)*.

Development with a human face

Indeed, the entire conception of development at the global level is changing. "Recognition of looming threats of the ecological balance of the planet itself has given rise to a new global consciousness, and the end of the cold war has challenged countries to redefine both their external relations and internal purposes", notes the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's biannual *World Education Report, 1993*. "Where previously there was an emphasis on military security, alone or in alliance with others, the imperatives now are to ensure economic and social security and the conditions of a civil society. In every region, countries are seeking new forms of economic and political cooperation with their neighbours and trading partners . . . and there is an upsurge of demands for decentralization, subsidiarity and more power for citizens to make decisions for themselves."

The UN Development Programme's (UNDP) *Human Development Report, 1994* recommends that the Summit endorse the emerging concept of human security as the basis upon which national development strategies, international cooperation and global governance should be organized. "The world can never be at peace unless people have security in their daily lives", the report warns.

"Global security can no longer be considered apart from human security, which today means jobs, human development and environmental sustainability and the safety of individuals in their homes, workplaces and streets", noted Dr. Mahbub ul Haq, Special Adviser to the UNDP Administrator, at the 46th Annual DPI/NGO Conference (8-10 September 1993, New York), sponsored by the UN Department of Public Information. Ambassador Juan Somavia put it simply: "Security", he said, ". . . is sleeping soft at night."

Seeking a new definition of security has meant re-examining assumptions and posing fundamental questions about the principal sources of insecurity in contemporary societies. "The new approach must be inclusive, must encompass all aspects of social, economic and environmental life, and must seek to promote a society in which each and every individual has the potential and the opportunity to become involved in development", Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the organizational meeting of the Summit's Preparatory Committee in April 1993. "We are abandoning the fragmented, compartmentalized approach of the past, which failed to concentrate on the dynamics of whole societies. We are now beginning to see the interrelationships that exist between social economic and political life . . . Old notions and old methods of working will need to be revised and some entirely new approaches must be created."

The Summit will provide the opportunity "to reiterate very clearly that, without the promotion of people-centred development, none of our key objectives can be met—not peace, not human rights, not environmental protection, not reduced population growth, not social integration", says James Gustave Speth, Administrator of UNDP, in a foreword to the Human Development Report. "It will be a time for all nations to recognize that it is far cheaper and far more humane to act early and to act upstream than to pick up the pieces downstream, to address the root causes of human insecurity rather than the tragic consequences."

The ultimate goal of the Summit is to help make "ordinary people throughout the world feel less insecure, less threatened, more dignified", Mr. Somavia said. "The dignity of the human being is a great endeavour. It is an ideal well worth fighting for, a fundamental value to orient our life: a moral need for contemporary societies". ■

UNHCR 18028/A. Hollmann

The new approach must be inclusive, must encompass all aspects of social, economic and environmental life, and must seek to promote a society in which each and every individual has the potential and the opportunity to become involved in development.

—Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali

Attacking poverty

Investing in people

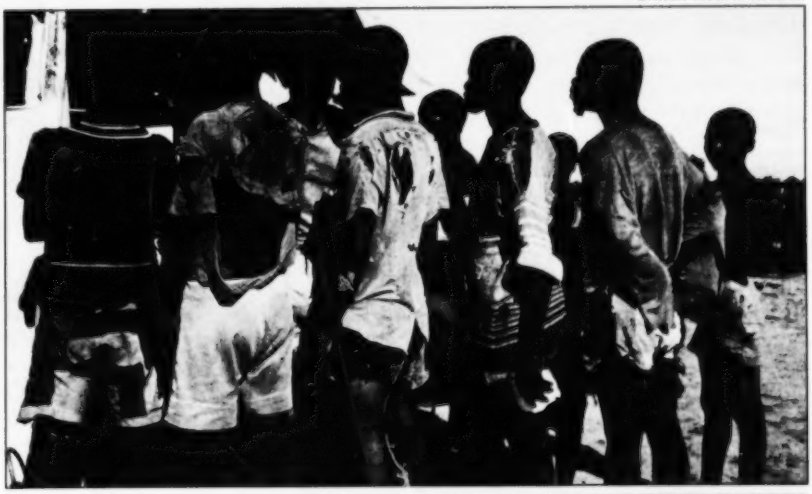
A fifth of the world's population live in absolute poverty, earning scarcely 2 per cent of the world's income. The ill-effects of this economic deprivation are often compounded by ethnic tensions and warfare, which can lead to the local displacement of people and large refugee movements. There are some 17 million refugees and 20 million displaced persons in the world today, deprived of home, health and education, their lives and livelihoods destroyed. These people add not to their nations' productivity, but to their overall economic burdens.

"In the worst of instances, the survival of an entire society or nation is threatened because the essentials of life are beyond the reach of its people", concluded participants in the 46th Annual DPI/NGO Conference (8-10 September 1993, New York).

While income is the most common measure of poverty, in fact poverty is also reflected by such indicators as nutrition, life expectancy, child mortality, literacy, illness and education. More difficult to measure, but equally impoverishing of human life are insecurity due to crime or other violence, political or cultural persecution, and other limitations on basic human rights and freedoms. Most of those factors are both causes and effects of economic poverty.

In the last quarter century, statistics measuring the factors influencing poverty indicate a significant reduction in the proportion of poor people in the world. For example, health indicators showed continuous improvements in all regions, average life expectancy increased from 51 to 63 years; and primary school enrollment reached 89 per cent.

UNHCR 18012/A. Hollman



Refugees are often the poorest of the poor *(above)*. While income is the most common measure of poverty, other indicators are education, child mortality and life expectancy.
Right: Young Bolivians.
Below: At a Budapest welfare centre.

Poverty: *The proposals*

The Preparatory Committee's 31 August progress report suggests that Governments commit "to the goal of eradicating poverty in the world, in the shortest period possible, by decisive national actions and international cooperation, as a moral and political imperative of humankind."

To that end, States should:

- Commit to formulating national, specific, time-bound commitments to eliminating extreme poverty;
- Focus efforts and policies on the satisfaction of basic needs for all with regard to food security and the elimination of malnutrition, primary health care and voluntary family planning, safe drinking water and sanitation, universal primary education, adequate shelter and access to information and knowledge;
- Review national budgets and adjust them to meet, on a priority basis, these basic needs;
- Develop and implement policies for ensuring that all people have adequate economic and social protection during unemployment, ill health, child-rearing, disability and old age; and
- Give special priority to the needs of women and children.

At the international level, States "shall remove all impediments to the attainment of this commitment in a sustained manner and ensure that all international institutions, particularly the multilateral development banks, assist developing countries and other countries in need of their efforts towards the achievement of our overall goal of eliminating poverty and ensuring basic social protection".

However, there have been wide regional variations: the numbers and proportion of poor people has increased in Africa, while they have decreased in East and Southeast Asia. Moreover, overall improvement in poverty-related indicators has slowed in recent years, while the number of poor people has increased, now standing at about 1.3 billion people.

Projections to the year 2000 indicate that the largest increase in that number would take place in Africa, and the gap between Africa and the rest of the world would continue to widen, noted participants in the Expert Meeting on Poverty (27-29 June, Lusaka, Zambia), the last in a triptych of meetings focusing on the core issues to be addressed by the Summit. "Unabated, the steady growth in population in the developing world would strain the capacity of the existing weak social sector ministries and dampen potential progress, particularly in many of the low-income countries".

Furthermore, stated the experts in a summary of their meeting, "growing inequalities in income distribution in developed countries are also adding new dimensions to the global poverty picture. Within many countries, gaps between men and women, between indigenous groups and the rest of the population, and between urban and rural areas are proving hard to overcome through labour intensive growth and basic investments in human resources".

Empowering the poor

A key approach to poverty eradication lies in enabling the poor to be better off on their own terms, through changes at both the micro and macro levels that will help reach the poor and empower them to improve all aspects of their lives.

"In the short term, poverty can be reduced to some extent by redistribution, but poverty reduction is greatly facilitated when economic growth generates new resources that can be preferentially used to assist poor

UN Photo 155014/P Sudhakaran

Enabling the poor to be better off on their own terms is important. *Above*, a woman of Bangalore.

people", the experts stated. However, "economic growth often occurs together with increases in poverty and inequality. Poverty reduction requires, therefore, not just aggregate economic growth, but economic and social policies that ensure that the benefits of growth are widely shared."

Another important area of focus during the Social Summit will be the creation of an enabling economic environment for sustainable, long-term development. This includes finding equitable, home-grown strategies for resolving the external debt crisis faced by developing countries, as well as introducing structural reforms to combat rapid inflation, large budget deficits and unsustainable patterns of demand, which have become major problems in industrialized economies.

"Greater efforts should be made to promote 'bottom-up' approaches to social development and poverty reduction rather than the more common 'top-down' approaches", according to the experts. However, they also saw the need for coordinating mechanisms at the international level, focusing on social issues to complement existing international financial, economic and trade organizations. "International efforts are required to create a more stable international economic environment in order to allow adjustment while protecting poor and vulnerable people", the experts reported.

Overall, expert discussions on strategies for reducing poverty centered on two basic objectives: labour-intensive growth, and human resources development. The combination of these objectives as the basis for poverty reduction was set forth in the World Bank's *World Development Report, 1990*, which saw growth as essential to reducing poverty, but also considered the pattern of growth as important as the rate of growth.

"Efficient labour-intensive growth is a key to providing jobs and raising incomes for the poor", assert the experts. "Investing in people, through education, health care, including reproductive health, and nutrition, not only improves human welfare directly, but is also a sound investment." ■

Social Development:
The statistics

Poverty is widespread

- Worldwide, 1 out of every 5 people—more than 1 billion in all—live below the poverty line, and an estimated 13 million to 18 million die annually of poverty-related causes.
- The ranks of those suffering extreme poverty will quadruple within one lifetime if current economic and demographic trends continue.
- Entire nations are afflicted: developing country debt is staggering. At $1.4 trillion, it is nearly double that of a decade ago. Servicing this debt means a net cash outflow from South to North and slashed social budgets which mean that the poorest in society bear the brunt of the burden.

Productive employment is decreasing

- One out of every 10 people of working age cannot find work that pays a decent wage.
- Of the world's total wage earners, 21 per cent receive only 2 per cent of the world's income.
- Worldwide, about 40 per cent of rural women work on their families' farms without wages. Even when paid, they earn far less than men for the same work.

Societies are disintegrating

- Conflict—a symptom of disintegration—has claimed more than 20 million lives since 1945. Over the last decade, conflicts within countries have increased: of the 82 armed conflicts between 1989 and 1992, 79 were domestic, many along ethnic lines; 90 per cent of casualties were civilian.
- Conflict also produces refugees and forced migration. In 1993 alone, a total of 6.8 million refugees fled three countries: Afghanistan, the former Yugoslavia and Mozambique.
- Reported crime has grown at a worldwide average of 5 per cent since the 1980s; in the United States alone, there are 35 million crimes committed annually. Escalation of crime has been particularly swift in developing countries and in countries in transition. Russia, for example, was beset by more than 5,600 gangs in 1994, almost 10 times more than in 1990.
- Illegal drug trafficking rakes in profits of some $500 billion a year—a sum equal to the combined gross national products of two thirds of the UN Member States put together.
- Public corruption is becoming commonplace. In some countries, financial frauds are estimated to cost the equivalent of 10 per cent of the country's annual gross domestic product.

Changing course

The problems are planetary and must be addressed in a global context. The UN has responded by calling for the World Summit for Social Development, in order to formulate a truly global strategy to combat the intertwined crisis of poverty, unemployment and social disintegration. This key event is one of a sequence of eight UN-sponsored conferences, part of a decade devoted to development. It closely follows the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Development", which views social development as imperative to international security. Seen in this context, the Summit is the centrepiece of the UN's commitment to put development and social issues at the top of the international agenda.

Building social integration

Seeking 'a society for all'

Rapid and fundamental change—technological, economic and cultural—which characterizes the modern world has had both positive and negative repercussions on contemporary society. An important benefit has been the improvement in living standards in some regions and population groups. However, there has also been a disheartening downside, including a global sharpening of social inequalities, fragmentation of societies and polarization of population or income groups.

"Stated differently", noted the Secretary-General in a report on the Social Development Summit, "the suggestion is that societies have lost part of their capacity to balance individual and societal needs and reconcile the particular interest with the common good."

Specific examples of social polarization and disintegration abound, such as:

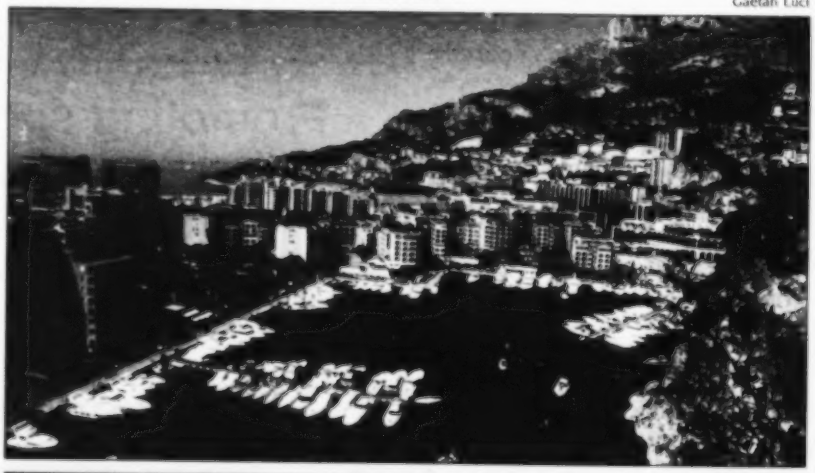
- Growing income disparities in many societies, as well as increased economic insecurity through unemployment, hyper-inflation and cuts in social benefits;
- Rise in violence, conflicts and various forms of crime;
- Ethnic and civil strife characterized an increasing number of societies and, in some places, organized society has totally collapsed; and
- Global policy shifts reflecting what has been described as "social Darwinism", where competition, economic efficiency and individual fulfilment are stressed over community and social solidarity.

"The growing occurrence of social conflicts, exclusion of disadvantaged and marginalized groups, and the

Xinhua News Agency 16708330179

A major goal: seeking a society that reconciles the particular interest with the common good. *Above*, a Chinese school.

Gaëtan Luci



Growing income disparities contribute to the process of social polarization and disintegration.

poverty, alienation and lack of security of a large and growing number of people threatens the peace, survival and sustainable development of the human community", concluded participants at a UN-sponsored Expert Meeting on Social Integration (27 September-1 October 1993, The Hague, The Netherlands), convened as part of the Summit's preparatory process. "The crisis is more serious than is generally thought."

However, the Expert Meeting continued, "The need for social integration is sometimes wrongly interpreted in terms of the need for an international police force which would enforce integration where spontaneous processes go the other way. . . . It must be clearly stated that neither military intervention nor any other coercive measures can really be expected to solve the pertinent issues. On the contrary, they rarely attack the real sources of negative social tendencies and may only contribute to the aggravation of inherent tendencies towards disintegration."

To address the root causes of disintegration, the experts call for a reordering of development objectives and priorities, and a restructuring of development institutions to further social integration and social development. An integrated society is a society able to accommodate different and divergent individual and group aspirations within a flexible framework of shared basic values and common interests. Thus, social integration should result from a pattern of development consistent with justice for the individual, harmony among groups and social cohesion.

Such a "society for all", the Secretary-General reported, assures equal access to opportunities and absence of discrimination. "The challenge of social integration is not one of reducing or eliminating differences, but of enabling different groups to live together in productive and cooperative diversity while ensuring conditions for social mobility."

Among the more important tools in achieving social integration, the Secretary-General advocated, are:

UNRWA 33/FO/1-7/M. Nasr

protecting diversity and making non-discrimination a central concern of social policy; promoting equality of opportunity; ensuring access to education and information for all; improving the situation of migrants; securing the advancement of people with special needs; bringing government closer to the people; and building up the institutions of civil society.

The aim of such steps, stated the Secretary-General, is "the creation of conditions in which all feel that they have a stake in society's peaceful development".

Concurred the experts: "The goal is not merely to integrate a 'social dimension into the development process', but to redefine the concept of development—and, therefore, to change the primary concern of development policy—so that it becomes truly socially relevant." ■

Promoting social integration: *The proposals*

A progress report on the elements for the draft declaration, presented by the Preparatory Committee Chairman on 31 August, proposes that the Declaration, to be adopted at the 1995 Summit, commit States to promoting social integration by fostering inclusive, participatory, just, safe and stable societies for all people.

To that end, the report suggests that Governments should:

- Resolve to ensure that effective laws and agencies exist to prevent discrimination on the grounds of gender, race, religion, age or disability;
- Recognize fully the inherent rights of indigenous peoples and the need to adopt specific strategies to develop greater respect for cultural diversity and for the needs of refugees and migrants;
- Ensure the protection of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and individuals, including elderly people and people with disabilities;
- Promote the full participation of all in the formulation and implementation of decisions affecting the functioning of our societies and the well-being of individuals; and
- Given the importance of communication and information for social integration and the respect of diversity, promote awareness to ensure that the present system of national and international television includes space for public television, which is neither government-controlled nor exclusively profit-oriented.

Creating jobs: The Challenge

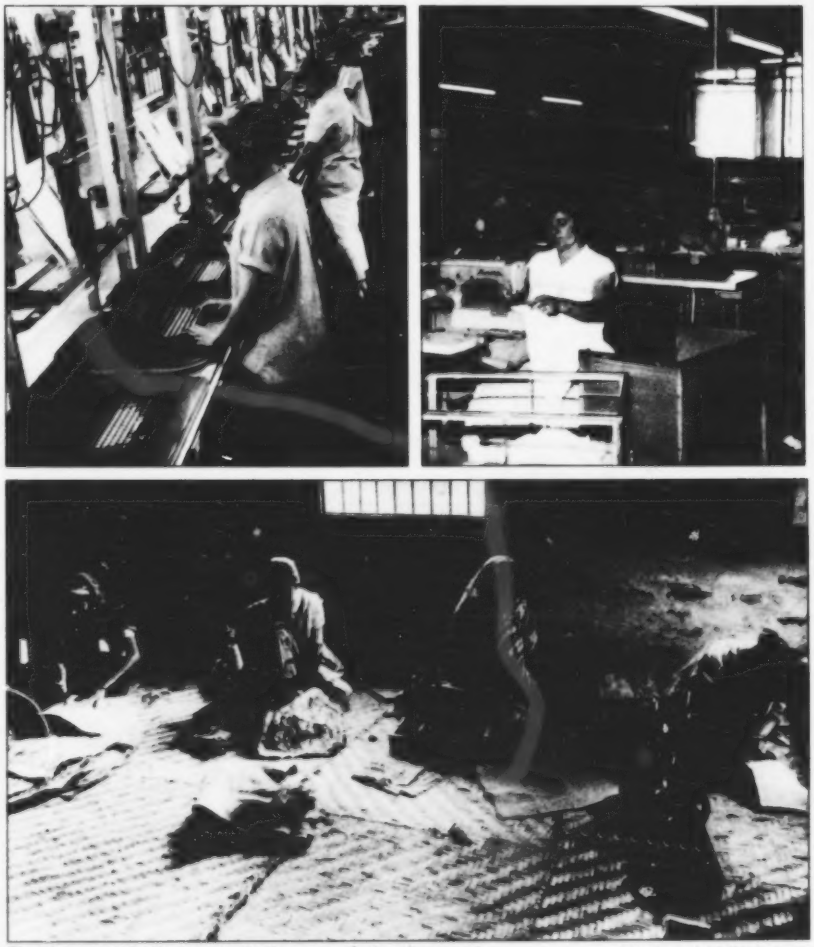
Putting the world to work

Approximately 30 per cent of the world labour force—more than 700 million people—are not productively employed; that is, they are either hunting vainly for jobs or are underemployed, working at tasks that do not allow them to make ends meet. More than 120 million of these people are officially registered as unemployed. The rest are underemployed: they are the working poor, labouring for long hours, but not earning enough to escape desperate poverty.

"In most parts of the world, employment is worse today than at any time since the end of the Second World War", concluded participants in the UN-sponsored Expert Meeting on the Expansion of Productive Employment (4-8 October 1993, Saltsjöbaden, Sweden), convened as part of the preparatory process leading up to the 1995 Social Development Summit.

In the industrialized countries, 1 of every 10 people is unemployed, with the average unemployment rate estimated at 8.6 per cent. More specifically, the rates in Western Europe are almost 12 per cent, while in Eastern Europe, rates of over 15 per cent are common. Mounting fear of unemployment has led a number of major immigration countries to further restrict the flow of up to 35 million economically active migrants, about 1.3 per cent of the global workforce.

In developing countries, some 60 per cent of the population depends on agriculture for their livelihood and some 300 million people, most of them women, work in the so-called informal employment sector, with hand-to-mouth subsistence jobs and without any sort of social security, insurance, disability or retirement benefits. External debt nearly doubled over the past decade, reaching 1.4 trillion in 1992, resulting in a development standstill and increasing unemployment.



Employment is the central element of development. UN Photo 148509/John Isaac
Top: Factories in Japan *(left)* and Cyprus.
Bottom: Weaving grass mats in Bangladesh.

In sub-Saharan Africa, urban unemployment has soared to 20 per cent, while well over 50 per cent of the rural population is underemployed. More than 10 years of adjustment policies have slightly reduced unemployment in Latin America, but levels of poverty and underemployment are high and increasing. In Asia, aggressive export strategies have stimulated economic growth and reduced underemployment. However, the southern countries of the region remain home to one half of the estimated 1.3 billion people in the world who are living in absolute poverty.

"Levels of wage employment have not just stagnated in recent years: in most economies around the world, formal sector jobs have actually been lost", states the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in its annual *World Labour Report, 1994*. "At the same time, the labour supply has continued to expand in all regions." An average of over 43 million jobseekers, most of

them in developing countries, are being added to the worldwide labour force annually, according to recent ILO estimates.

Basic link

Addressing the problem of unemployment is a basic link in the chain of social development, along with the other specific core issues to be addressed by the 1995 Summit. On the one hand, "possessing neither capital nor land, many of the more than 1 billion poor people in the world can rely only on their labour to earn a living", said the experts. "So full and productive employment is the most effective method of combating poverty."

On the other hand, "employment is an essential factor which influences integration", said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in a speech before a special session of the International Labour Conference on 8 June 1994 in Geneva. "Conversely, unemployment is a form of exclusion that often brings with it the whole array of social handicaps."

In fact, "employment is the central element of development", it is stated in the final report of the UN expert meeting. "Productive employment provides people a place in society. People who are productively employed are people who are making a contribution to the economy and in return they receive an income that widens their opportunities and that of their families. The lack of productive employment marginalizes people, makes them dependent and denies them the possibility of planning their lives."

No single prescription

However, the experts concluded, there is no single prescription for achieving higher rates of productive employment. "Experience indicates that there are few easy methods of expanding employment and alleviating poverty, and that piecemeal efforts are generally insufficient". Moreover, "policies for the expansion of productive employment will have to be designed in the new context of globalism. The spread of marketization and liberalization throughout the world has resulted in the rapid development of a series of global markets. Financial and commodity markets have become international, as have the flows of technology and management information within transnational corporations."

Meeting the challenge

To meet the employment challenge, the experts proposed a number of mutually reinforcing policies to be pursued simultaneously in several areas, including: promotion of sustainable high growth of effective demand; achievement of macroeconomic stability with high levels of employment and distributive justice; development of policies and institutions that encourage efficient functioning of the labour market; and establishment of an overall system of incentives free of allocative distortions, thereby leading to higher productivity of resources.

In addition, the experts found that countries which have linked economic policies with human resource development and employment policies have had greater success in promoting employment. They envisaged "a cooperative strategy based on national responsibility buttressed by international solidarity", and called for all countries to commit to growth with macroeconomic stability, based on the efficient use of resources and labour policies that foster high and sustainable levels of productive employment.

"In neither the industrialized nor the developing countries should current levels of unemployment and underemployment be accepted as an unavoidable component of modern society", the experts stressed. "Societies have the knowledge and the means to overcome this problem." ■

Enabling productive livelihoods: *The proposals*

The progress report emanating from the second preparatory session on the Summit Declaration suggests that Governments should commit to "enabling all people to earn livelihoods through freely chosen productive employment, self-employment and other forms of work" and commit to "retaining full employment as a general goal".

To those ends, the States should:

- Put the creation of employment at the centre of the strategies and policies of Governments, private enterprises, and international organizations;
- Promote labour-intensive investment and commit to appropriate outlays and technologies to make employment strategies productive and sustainable;
- Expand work opportunities and productivity by investing substantially in human resources, especially through the provision of education and health care, encouraging self-employment and small enterprises, and improving access to credit, information, training and infrastructure;
- Ensure that workers have the training facilities, skills and abilities needed to adapt to changing technologies and labour markets;
- Devote themselves to formulating macroeconomic policies that foster long-term sustainable economic growth, open markets, well distributed global investment and greater export opportunities for developing countries; and
- Devote themselves to the goal of ensuring quality jobs in full respect of ILO conventions.

The 49th session: Looking towards the UN of the future

UN Photo 185836/M Grant

Delegates to the 49th General Assembly were looking to the future. *Above*, United States President William J. Clinton addressing the body on 26 September.

The forty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which opened on 20 September, was widely anticipated to be a productive and thought-provoking predecessor to the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations, a watershed event in the life of the Organization. The gathering saw delegates look both back and ahead, Janus-like, on the launching of a record number of high-profile peace-keeping operations worldwide and towards the anniversary celebrations in 1995, which would be marked by major conferences on economic and social development issues.

In redefining and bringing to fulfilment a renewed vision of development, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared: "We can begin to get at the roots of conflict", and in the process create a new system of international cooperation and build enduring foundations for a secure, just and creative era for all humanity. That, he believed, was the primary mission of the UN in its second half-century.

"The year before us will be a time for reaffirmation and recommitment by all the world community to employ the United Nations more efficiently, effectively and responsibly across the widest range of global concerns", he declared.

Thus, the forty-ninth session opened at a time of renewed purpose, as the Organization sought to strike a balance between the long-term, interrelated goals developed in the Secretary-General's two groundbreaking reports: his 1992 "An Agenda for Peace", and the still-under-construction "An Agenda for Development".

UN Photo 185738/J. Bu

The gavel changes hands on 20 September.

'An altered context'

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali stated it simply in his 2 September annual report on the work of the Organization *(A/49/1)*: "We must attend to the immediate problems of conflict, under all circumstances keeping in mind the aspects of development which must be strengthened."

He set out a basis for the deliberations and achievements of the session in describing a world with "an altered context", where the definition of security is no longer limited to questions of land and weapons, but rather has a broader meaning that includes the economic well-being, environmental sustainability, and protection of human rights.

His objective, he said, is "to correct the common misperception of the UN as an Organization dedicated primarily to peace-keeping", stressing that economic and social questions had long occupied the major part of UN efforts. That work was all the more important today, "precisely as conflicts are increasingly recognized to have economic and social origins". In the midst of efforts to contain and resolve immediate conflicts, "the UN is deepening its attention to the foundations of peace, which lie in the realm of development", he declared.

While some progress towards peace has been attained, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali went on, there had been very little concerted action towards development. In his view, the world community must "redefine and bring to fulfilment the idea of development as the long-term solution to the root causes of conflict.

He recalled that a goal of his "Agenda for Development" *(A/48/935)* is to provide a comprehensive framework for thinking about the pursuit of development as a means of building foundations for enduring human progress. Peace, the economy, the environment, society and democracy are interlinked dimensions of development, with peace providing "the most secure context for lasting development". In attending to the sources of conflict through the pursuit of a "comprehensive vision of development, we have the opportunity to realize greater potential for all humanity than ever before".

In both mission and mandate, he said, the UN was uniquely suited to the task, encompassing all dimensions of the development challenge. As a forum for discussion and awareness-raising, as a tool for cooperation and decision-making, and as a vehicle for promoting multilateral action, the UN could help forge the necessary global consensus. The fiftieth anniversary year was an opportunity to realize that promise, and an invitation to the UN, its Member States and the world's peoples to "appreciate and strengthen the accomplishments of the past, to recognize and meet the challenges of the present, and to design and implement a plan for the United Nations of the future".

A renewed commitment

A renewed commitment by the UN to development activities was reiterated again and again in statements by high UN officials and world statesmen at the outset of the forty-ninth session.

At a luncheon in honour of Heads of State or Government on 30 September, the Secretary-General said that on a "voyage to the future", to a world where the voice of all States was heard with equal clarity, where national interest lay in the assurance of collective security for all, and where multilateral diplomacy could be founded on the cooperation of peoples across national borders, there were three concepts to guide the UN: "peace, development and democracy".

On 20 September, Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire was elected President of the forty-ninth session by acclamation. He too echoed those themes in stating that the "new international situation is favourable to the role of the United Nations, which is emerging as the ideal organ for promotion of the will of the international community to work towards the building of peace and the pursuit of sustainable human development".

The "most important thing", he said, "is still the work of the United Nations with a view to development". Through innovative approaches, such as those based on the concept of sustainable development and human security, which would be further elaborated and enriched by the debate on the "Agenda for Development", the UN could show its capacity to respond to global challenges.

Mr. Essy stressed the special problems of Africa, which would later be addressed by many individual speakers in the general debate. He called it a "martyred continent" due to its abject poverty, multiple natural disasters, massive migrations and "ideological mind-sets that justify internal oppression and sometimes genocide". It was his belief, however, that Africa was "regaining its confidence" and was dedicated to design-

The New President

UN Photo

Amara Essy of Côte d'Ivoire has been his country's Foreign Minister since November 1990 and was the Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1981 to 1990, functioning concurrently as Ambassador to Argentina and Cuba. He has also served as Vice-President of the forty-third session General Assembly, President of the Security Council and Chairman of the "Group of 77". Mr. Essy has represented his country at numerous meetings, including the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, the UN Conference on Trade and Development, and many sessions of the Commission on Human Rights and the Economic and Social Council. Mr. Essy was his country's Ambassador to the Swiss Confederation at Berne from 1978 to 1981 and, before that, served as Permanent Representative to the UN Office at Geneva and the UN Industrial Development Organization in Vienna. He holds a degree in public law, a diploma of high-level studies, also in public law, and a diploma from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Switzerland.

Fearing what is different . . .

The passage from the end of ideological confrontation to the establishment of a world of peace and a shared destiny is hardly an easy one. The tendencies seen since the end of the cold war, the most evident of which is the proliferation of civil war, seem to be gaining strength. Of 82 conflicts over the last three years, 79 have been internal conflicts, and in cases such as those of the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda they have led to systematic policies of "ethnic cleansing", and even genocide. But those conflicts are but one aspect of the way our world is going. In countries of the northern and southern hemispheres alike, we are witnessing rising intolerance and xenophobia, in short fear of that which is different, of all differences: skin colour, language, ethnicity and sex.

Consider, furthermore, the many frustrations, both individual and collective, that result from the spread of poverty, exclusion and social injustice. Where human misery grows, threats to the security of our world also spring forth: the degradation of the environment, the depletion of natural resources, the speeding up of the rural exodus, the growth of shanty towns on the peripheries of large metropolitan centres, urban violence, the disintegration of the social fabric and drug abuse. International terrorism, nuclear proliferation, the spread of pandemics, unemployment, famine, natural disasters, uncontrolled population growth—all are on the list of today's concerns.

—President Amara Essy
20 September 1994

Looking to the future

ing for itself the broad lines of its future, with the support of the international community.

In a 22 September press conference, President Essy declared: "We all have an interest in development; it is a battle that everyone must wage. It is in the interest of Africa and in the interest of the developed countries. It is one of the solutions that could yield peace in the world today."

'Feeling the ills of the world'

As for the General Assembly's role and its relationship with the Security Council, he believed that there should be an improved exchange of information, and a more in-depth debate on the Council's annual report. Upcoming conferences on economic and social issues would be "a sort of synthesis", he said, to make the Assembly the principal organ that "feels all the ills of the world". There was a growing awareness that the Assembly should be able to express its opinion on everything happening in the world today and on all decisions taken throughout the UN system. It was in the Assembly, he stated, that "we the peoples of the United Nations feel the *'cri de coeur'* of the populations of the world".

The Assembly elected 21 Vice-Presidents from: Armenia, Austria, Burundi, Cambodia, China, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Dominican Republic, Fiji, France, Guinea-Bissau, India, Kazakhstan, Malawi, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Russian Federation, Sudan, Tunisia, United Kingdom, United States and Uruguay.

On its 159-item agenda, the Assembly will consider new items on: the situation in the occupied territories of Croatia; criteria for the granting of observer status in the General Assembly; the report of the International Tribunal for the prosecution of persons responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of the former Yugoslavia since 1991; commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War; observer status for the South Pacific Forum in the General Assembly, observer status for the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and support by the UN system for the efforts of Governments to promote and consolidate new or restored democracies. New sub-items dealt with capital punishment, and the situations in Afghanistan and in Rwanda.

UN Photo 188052/M. Grant

New South African President Nelson Mandela at the Assembly podium on 3 October.

The report on "An Agenda for Development" was to be considered in special high-level plenary meetings, followed by negotiations in the Second Committee.

Special events

Several special events were planned for the forty-ninth session. A two-day (18-19 October) International Conference on Families, attended by high-level officials from various countries discussed the status of worldwide activities in observance of the International Year of the Family (1994). A draft plan of action is to be presented in 1995. Another meeting on 20 October marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the UN Population Fund (UNFPA). Furthermore, in December, the Assembly is to launch the Decade of the World's Indigenous People. Action on items on the Malagasy islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India and the question of East Timor were deferred until 1995.

During the forty-eighth session, which officially ended on 19 September 1994, the Assembly adopted 332 resolutions and considered 181 items; the plenary had held 105 meetings.

Outgoing Assembly President Samuel R. Insanally of Guyana cited a "prevailing dissatisfaction" with the present role of the UN in development, as well as generalized impatience to revitalize the world economy. He hoped that the World Summit for Social Development in 1995 would summon the awareness and the commitment so urgently required for progress to be made.

The three-week general debate of the forty-ninth session opened on 26 September and concluded on 12 October, hearing a total of 178 participants. Many expressed their horror and frustration over an increase in regional conflicts and civil wars, against a backdrop of religious and ethnic tensions, and called for increased preventive diplomacy. Also asked were practical measures to implement the Secretary General's "Agenda for Development", with some specifying the need for a special emphasis on Africa. The critical financial situation of the UN, in face of its growing responsibilities in the areas of peace-keeping and humanitarian assistance, was also of major concern. ■

The Six Main Committees and What They Do

First Committee: Disarmament and International Security

Chairman: Luis Valencia-Rodriguez of Ecuador

The Committee is to consider a diverse, but interrelated range of disarmament and international security issues concerning nuclear proliferation, as well as the spread of conventional weapons, on its 22-item agenda, including: a comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty; a treaty banning the production of fissile material; establishment of nuclear-weapon-free-zones; prevention of an arms race in outer space; reduction of military budgets; eradication of illicit arms transfers; a moratorium on the export of land mines; and conventional disarmament on a regional scale. Also under discussion will be the question of Antarctica, with its impact on global environmental and ecological systems.

Second Committee: Economic and Financial

Chairman: Sher Afgan Khan of Pakistan

The Committee has a seven-item agenda, with 20 sub-items. The major item on sustainable development and international economic cooperation has sub-items on trade and development, food and agricultural development, commodities, cultural development, integration of the economies in transition into the world economy, industrial development cooperation, the 1996 UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), international cooperation for the eradication of poverty in developing countries, and the UN initiative on opportunity and participation.

Also to be addressed are issues related to desertification, small island developing States, population, external debt and implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Fourth United Nations Development Decade.

Third Committee: Social, Humanitarian and Cultural

Chairman: Kéba Birane Cissé of Senegal

The Committee will consider 12 agenda items, including elimination of racism and racial discrimination, social development, crime prevention and criminal justice, advancement of women, international drug control, refugees, returnees and displaced persons, human rights, the UN Year for Tolerance (1995), and the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004). The General Assembly is expected to proclaim the ten-year period beginning on 1 January 1995 as the Decade for Human Rights Education.

Fourth Committee: Special Political and Decolonization

Chairman: Borys M. Hudyma of the Ukraine

The Committee will consider a new item on the situation in the occupied territories of Croatia. Also on its 18-item agenda are: effects of atomic radiation; protection and security of small States; international cooperation in the peaceful uses of outer space; the work of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East; UN peace-keeping operations; science and peace; questions relating to information; and a range of decolonization issues, including information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and implementation of the 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

Fifth Committee: Administrative and Budgetary

Chairman: Adrien Teirlinck of Belgium

The Committee has a 33-item agenda and will review proposals to streamline the UN personnel system. Other items concern: the scale of assessments for apportioning UN expenses among Member States; a review of the efficiency of the administrative and financial functioning of the UN; improving the UN financial situation; programme budgets for the 1992/1993 and 1994/1995 bienniums; and financing of peace-keeping operations. Funding for the new Office of Internal Oversight Services will also be considered.

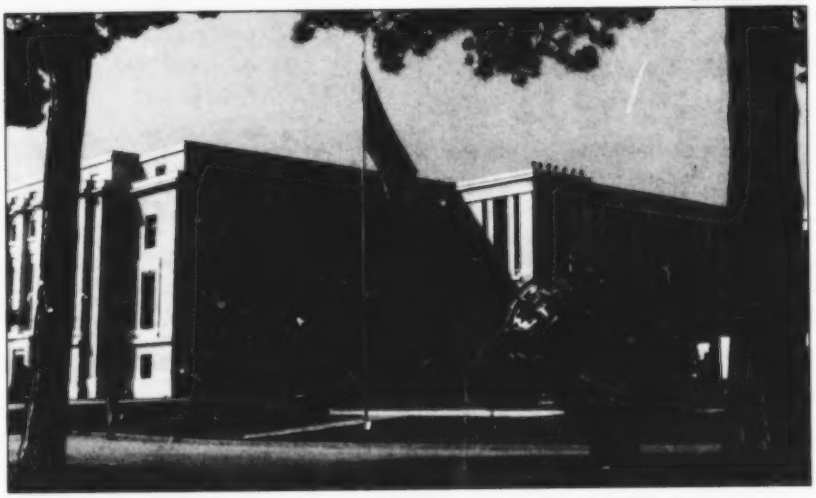
Sixth Committee: Legal

Chairman: George O. Lamptey of Ghana

The Committee will consider 14 agenda items, including: a report of the International Law Commission detailing a proposal to establish an international criminal court; a Model Law on Procurement of Goods and Construction; a draft declaration on enhancing cooperation between the UN and regional organizations; measures to eliminate international terrorism; criteria for granting of Assembly observer status; responsibility for attacks on UN and associated personnel; and the report of the International Tribunal to try those accused of war crimes in former Yugoslavia. One item deals with a request for an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on the principles of applying the laws of one country to another.

Disarmament Conference reports 'long, arduous session'

UN Photo 143689



The Palais des Nations in Geneva is the site of Conference on Disarmament sessions.

A large part of the work of the 1994 Conference on Disarmament—held in Geneva in three parts (25 January-31 March; 16 May-1 July; and 25 July-7 September)—was devoted to the question of a nuclear-test ban. Ending what Conference President Sirous Nasseri of Iran termed a "long and arduous session", the world's sole multilateral disarmament negotiating body adopted its report *(A/49/27)* to the General Assembly's forty-ninth session.

In a message to the Conference on 25 January, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali had declared that Assembly resolution 48/70 on the comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty—sponsored by more than 157 Member States and adopted by consensus in 1993—was a "milestone in the efforts of the international community to ban all nuclear tests in all environments for all time". He was gratified that the Conference was to give priority to negotiations for a "universal, multilaterally and effectively verifiable comprehensive nuclear-test-ban treaty".

The Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear-Test Ban, re-established on 25 January with Miguel Marin-Bosch of Mexico as Chairman, had a general exchange of views on all aspects of such a treaty and set up two working groups: on verification and on legal and institutional issues. After intensive work, the Committee included the results of its ongoing negotiations on the draft treaty in a rolling text.

In a related development, the Ad Hoc Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Co-operative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events continued work on measures to facilitate an international exchange of seismological data under a comprehensive treaty in a protocol that would be an integral part of the treaty.

The Group also completed plans for developing, testing and evaluating GSETT-3—an experimental international seismic monitoring system that could help in establishing an ultimate verification system.

The 38-member Conference consists of: five nuclear-weapon States (China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom and United States); other militarily significant States; and neutral and non-aligned countries which form the "Group of 21". In 1994, 47 non-member States participated as observers in the plenary meetings of the Conference or its subsidiary bodies.

Members agreed that the Conference was the appropriate forum to negotiate a "non-discriminatory, multilateral and internationally and effectively verifiable treaty banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices", reported Gerald Shannon of Canada, who had been appointed Special Coordinator on the issue. There was agreement in principle that an ad hoc committee should be established as soon as a mandate was agreed upon, he added.

Outer space

The adequacy of the current legal regime, the confidence-building measures in outer space activities, and the terminological aspects of work were among key issues considered by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space, which had been re-established on 25 January under the chairmanship of José A. Perez Novoa of Cuba.

Members of the "Group of 21" developing countries and China stressed that existing legal instruments were "far from effective" in preventing such an arms race and favoured rapid elaboration of a legal regime, as well as reinforcement of existing instruments by more effective implementation and broader participation of States.

Some members of the Western Group maintained that there was "no arms race in outer space", adding that the UN Charter and outer space-

related arms control treaties, together with customary international and domestic laws of individual nations, provided an "equitable, practical and extensive legal system for ensuring the use of outer space for peaceful purposes".

The Ad Hoc Committee favoured closer coordination with the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space on issues of mutual concern. Substantive work on those matters should continue at the next Conference session, it was agreed.

Security assurances, transparency

Pending the elimination of nuclear weapons, non-nuclear-weapon States should be effectively assured against the use or threat of use of nuclear weapons, stated the relevant Ad Hoc Committee in its report to the Conference.

Chaired by Alain Guillaume of Belgium, the Committee agreed that a discussion on negative security assurances could "not be conducted in isolation from a general assessment of the security situation both at regional and global levels".

An eventual solution might involve addressing the problem of positive assurances on the part of Security Council permanent members, pursuant to resolution 255 (1968), which stated that, in the case of aggression with nuclear weapons, the Council should "act immediately in accordance with the Charter" and provide assistance to the victims.

With regard to transparency in armaments, the Ad Hoc Committee on that subject maintained a general view that increased openness could "enhance confidence, ease tensions, strengthen regional and international peace and security, contribute to restraint in military production and the transfer of arms". Together with the appropriate mechanisms, that could "contribute to the prevention of armed conflicts".

Chaired by Gyorgy Botha of Hungary, the Committee agreed that transparency was "not an end in itself", but should respect the principle of "undiminished security for every State". Also, there was a prevailing view that the 1992 Register of Conventional Arms—a "step forward in the promotion of transparency in military matters"—had to be developed in such a manner as to encourage universal participation.

Other issues

At its 1994 session, the Conference did not establish ad hoc committees on: cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; prevention of nuclear war, including all related matters; new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons; radiological weapons; and comprehensive programme of disarmament.

Lars Norberg of Sweden was appointed Special Coordinator to review the agenda; and Luiz Filipe Lampreia of Brazil was named Friend of the Chair to deal with membership expansion. Strong divergent views were expressed with respect to a reformed agenda, and no movement was made on the issue of membership.

Since 1982, 34 non-member States had requested membership: Austria, Bangladesh, Belarus, Cameroon, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Croatia, Czech Republic, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Ecuador, Finland, Greece, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Kuwait, Malaysia, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Senegal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, South Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, Viet Nam, and Zimbabwe. ■

DISARMAMENT NOTES

Preparatory Committee for NPT Review Conference

The majority of States parties to the 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) supported an extension of the instrument, it was reported at the third session (12-16 September, Geneva) of the Preparatory Committee for the 1995 Conference of Parties to the Treaty.

Attended by 89 States parties, 7 non-parties to the Treaty and 51 non-governmental organizations, the Committee approved a programme of work for the future Conference, which included further elaboration of draft rules of procedure, a review of background documentation, and decisions on the agenda and final documents. A fourth session of the Preparatory Committee is scheduled to be held at Headquarters from 23 to 27 January 1995. ■

Ad Hoc Group on biological convention established

An Ad Hoc Group to consider appropriate measures and proposals to strengthen the 1972 Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction was established on 1 October, as States parties to the instrument concluded their Special Conference (19 September-1 October, Geneva).

In a final declaration, States parties said the Group—to hold its first session from 4 to 6 January 1995 in Geneva—would form part of a "gradual approach towards the establishment of a coherent regime to enhance the effectiveness of, and improve compliance with, the Convention". ■

Nuclear safety convention opened for signature

An International Convention on Nuclear Safety—the first legal instrument that directly addresses the issue of nuclear power plants safety worldwide—was opened for signature on 20 September at the thirty-eighth session (19-23 September, Vienna) of the General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).

Completed after three years of work, the Convention applies to land-based civil nuclear power plants and obliges the parties to establish and maintain proper legislative and regulatory framework to govern safety. Through the Convention, States commit themselves to fundamental safety principles for nuclear installations, and agree to participate in periodic peer review meetings on implementation of their obligations.

The Convention—signed on 20 September by 38 countries, including Canada, France, India, Pakistan, Republic of Korea, Russian Federation, South Africa, United Kingdom and United States—is to enter into force on the nineteenth day after the 22nd instrument of ratification is deposited with the IAEA.

Earlier, an extensive overview of present and future plans for global electricity production involving nuclear power had taken place at an IAEA-organized conference on nuclear power option (5-8 September, Vienna).

A 'higher profile'

In his message to the General Conference on 19 September, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali noted that the IAEA's work had assumed a "higher profile" than at any other time in its history. Citing last year's General Assembly resolution recommending that negotiations begin on an international treaty banning the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons, the Secretary-General said the Agency, with its extensive experience in safeguards verification activities, was "well placed to play a key role in both the development and implementation of such a treaty". Agency assistance was also a factor in devising effective methods to ensure that illicit nuclear material did not become available "to the highest bidder on the international black market".

The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) remained the "cornerstone of international efforts to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons" and maintenance of its integrity must be a "top priority" of the IAEA and UN Member States as a whole, he said. He hoped Member States would agree to extend the Treaty indefinitely and unconditionally.

Recent developments cited by the Secretary-General included positive steps by the DPRK towards resuming its obligations under the NPT, accession to the Treaty by Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, and Ukraine's placement of its nuclear material under Agency safeguards and indication of its intention to accede to the NPT. While welcoming these "important moves", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said there was "no room for complacency".

15 texts adopted

More than 15 resolutions—dealing with strengthening the nuclear non-proliferation regime and key aspects of global cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear power—were adopted at the Conference's session.

Member States reaffirmed their support for: full implementation of IAEA safeguards agreement with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK); a long-term verification and monitoring plan in Iraq; South Africa's resumed participation in all IAEA activities; establishment of an African weapon-free zone; early application of IAEA full-scope safeguards to the Middle East, with a view to establishing a verifiable nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region; and measures against illicit trafficking in nuclear material.

Other texts related to: technical cooperation activities; nuclear safety and radiological protection; radioactive waste management; and water resources and production.

The Conference decided to restore technical assistance to Israel—suspended since 1981—and called for identification of technical assistance projects in the territories under the jurisdiction of the Palestinian Authority. ■

'Non-compliance' of DPRK cited by IAEA

Continuing concern over non-compliance of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) with its nuclear safeguards agreement was expressed by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) General Conference in a resolution adopted on 23 September.

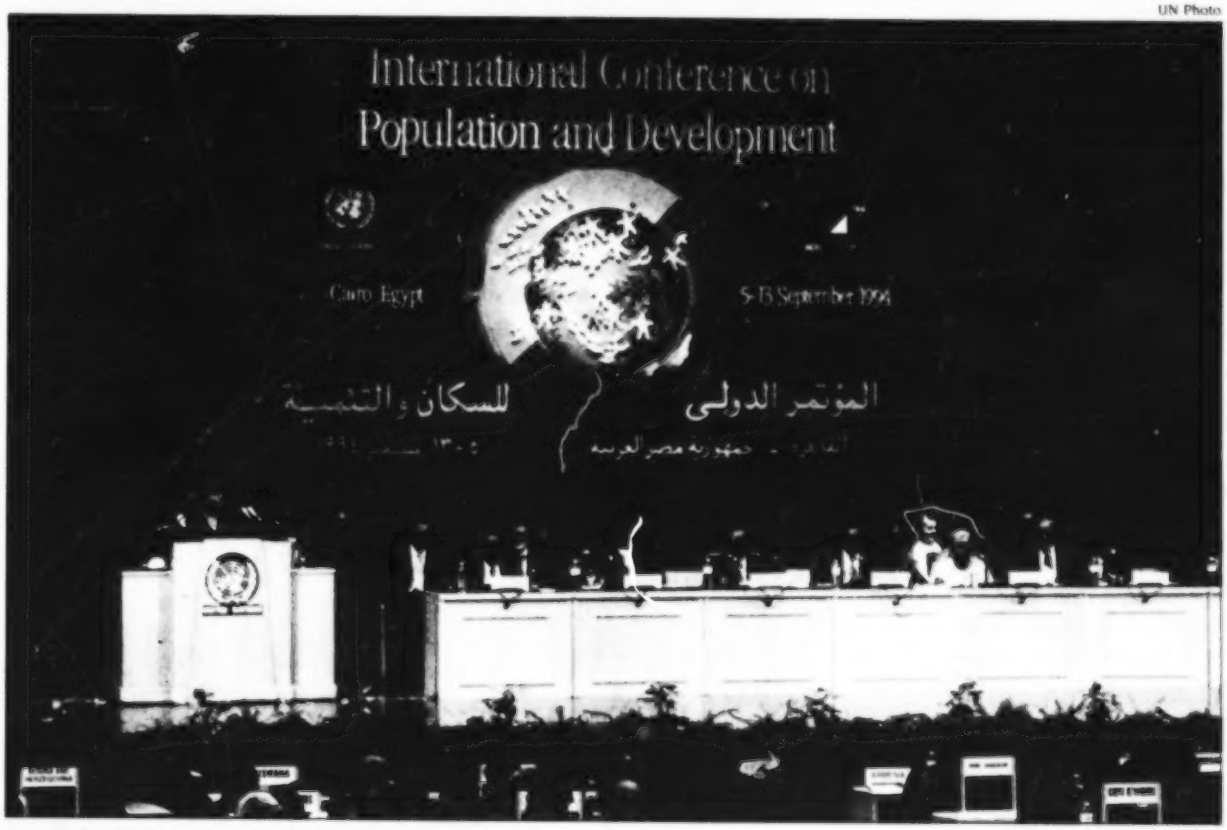
IAEA maintained that its safeguards agreement was still in force, despite DPRK's withdrawal from the Agency on 13 June.

The General Conference also supported all efforts, including ongoing bilateral discussions, which could contribute to full implementation by the DPRK of its obligations. It urged the DPRK to "cooperate immediately with the Agency" and allow IAEA to have "access to all safeguards-relevant information and locations".

'To change the world'

Cairo Conference reaches consensus on plan to stabilize world growth by 2015

UN Photo



Norway's Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland addressing the Conference.

Against a backdrop streaked with controversy and under the intense spotlight of unprecedented world media attention, the International Conference on Population and Development reached consensus—despite some widely divergent viewpoints—on a worldwide strategy to curb global population growth over the next 20 years and achieve sustained economic growth and sustainable development.

At the heart of the work of the Conference—the fifth UN global meeting on population issues—was, in the words of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the "search for an equilibrium between humanity and its environment and, ultimately, the means to sustain life on earth". In that light, he felt the widespread public attention to controversial issues debated at the Conference was "essentially encouraging", since it helped raise consciousness of important issues and mobilize public opinion for significant action. Such critical matters could not be considered "without causing ripples and even some storms", he said.

Convened in Cairo, Egypt from 5 to 13 September, the Conference adopted without a vote a 16-chapter Programme of Action, calling for action to stabilize world population growth at below estimates of 7.5 billion by the year 2015 in the context of sustainable development.

In its preamble, the Programme states that the Conference represented "the last opportunity" in the twentieth century to collectively address the critical challenges and interrelationships between population and development. The Programme of Action, according to Dr. Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the UN Population Fund (UNFPA) and Conference

Secretary-General, had the potential "to change the world".

Delegations from more than 180 countries, which included a number of Heads of State or Government, were joined at the Conference by thousands of participants from non-governmental and other grass-roots organizations, intergovernmental bodies and the media—an indication of the importance attached by the people of the world to a meeting convened for the people of the world.

Four previous UN population conferences have been convened at the global level: Rome (1954); Belgrade (1965); Bucharest (1974) and Mexico City (1984).

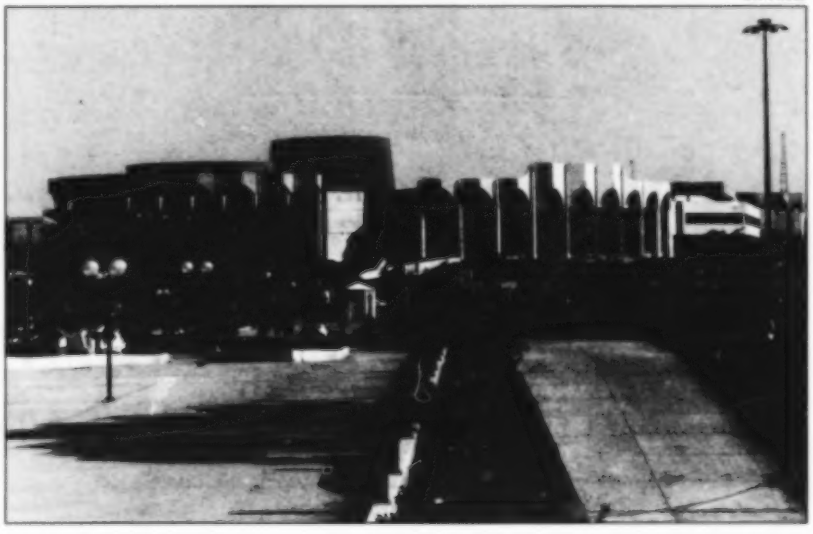
The first World Population Plan of Action was adopted in 1974 and was reviewed and supplemented at the 1984 Conference by a set of recommendations for its further implementation.

Mindful of the need to continue to consider population issues at a high level, the UN Economic and Social Council in July 1989 called for the convening of an international conference on population. The General Assembly, in 1992 and 1993, stressed "the need for comprehensive national population policies based on national priorities and compatible with sustained economic growth and sustainable development". *(See special Conference background section,* UN Chronicle, *September 1994, Volume XXXI, No. 3).*

UN Photo

Inside the Conference hall *(above)* and outside *(below).*

UN Photo



'The destiny of the human being'

In an opening address on 5 September, Mr. Boutros-Ghali underscored his belief that "the efficacy of the economic order of the planet on which we live" depended in great measure on the results of the Conference. Delegates to UN conferences in the economic and social spheres were currently considering the "destiny of the human being". Three principles of human conduct—"rigour, tolerance and conscience"—should, in his view, set the tone and guide Conference deliberations. He reiterated the need to support population policies, since "it would be inadmissible to rely on some kind of law of nature"—to allow wars, disasters, famine or disease to regulate the world's demographic growth. He also stressed the important role that women must play in development.

In view of the social and ethical questions under discussion, he said, all delegates should be tolerant and respectful of the sensitivities of others. In the end, the Secretary-General said, men and women throughout the world must have not only the right but also the means to choose their families' futures.

Egyptian President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak, a winner of the 1994 UN Population Award, was elected by acclamation as Conference President. He told delegates that solutions to population problems must transcend mere "demographics" and be elaborated in close relation to the problems of social, economic and cultural development.

Among the dignitaries who spoke was Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway, who told the Conference that for too many women in too many countries, real development had only been an illusion. Morality had become "hypocrisy" when it meant accepting mothers suffering or dying in connection with unwanted pregnancies and illegal abortions, and unwanted children living in misery, she said.

Vice-President Albert Gore of the United States, mindful that no single solution was sufficient, spoke of a "holistic" and comprehensive approach to the world's population problems, as well as to the persistent high level of poverty. In his words, democracy, economic reform, low rates of inflation, low levels of corruption, sound environmental stewardship, free and open markets at home and access to markets in the developed countries were essential.

Pakistan's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, stating that her country was one of the largest Muslim countries, with the ninth largest population on earth, said population growth must be checked so that the people would not have a future of hunger and poverty. The empowerment of women was a means to reach that end. The outcome of the Conference, she said, must not be viewed as a universal charter imposing sex education and abortion on individual cultures opposing such policies.

Prince Mbilini, Prime Minister of Swaziland, told participants that key issues before the Conference were directly relevant to Africa, where population growth played a critical role in its continued underdevelopment. He asked that donor communities increase their assistance to African States, commensurate with the magnitude of their economic problems.

Six-day debate

During a six-day general debate, more than 200 speakers shared their experiences and concerns related to population and development strategies. In view of the Conference's broad mandate to consider development issues and their linkages, the debate touched on a wide range of subjects, including poverty and economic disparities, patterns of production and consumption, world trade, the environment, the family structure, health care and education. While there was religious and philosophical disagreement on some key issues, the speeches overwhelmingly reflected support for the new Programme of Action, a commonality of concern and a dedication to "people-centred" development policies.

Most participants supported the premise that population policies must be based on freedom of choice and the rights of the individual, as well as the rights of women and of individual cultures. It was acknowledged that abortion was a very sensitive issue and many agreed that family planning, along with a full range of reproductive and primary health care services, was the key to reducing a woman's recourse to abortion.

Some speakers stressed that their countries were not attempting to create an international right to abortion, or to advocate or promote the practice; rather, they wished to address it as a public health issue.

Many Latin American delegates spoke of their belief that the family was the basic unit of society, as well as the main agent for transmitting and developing values.

The majority of speakers underscored the view that the formulation and implementation of population policies were essentially the responsibility and sovereign right of individual nations, in conformity with their own laws and national circumstances, as well as with international human rights standards.

Many speakers from developing countries lamented that their spiralling populations were eating away the fruits of their development efforts. India said it was necessary to "put an immediate brake on the population growth and break the nexus between overpopulation and poverty". Some felt that poverty, particularly among women, was a cause and an effect of population growth, and that improving the lives of poor women was the key to poverty alleviation. It was widely agreed that for current population policies to be successful, the international community must address the fundamental issue of transforming countries from economically backward societies into modern ones, where people would be ready to implement new and radical ideas.

Many speakers stressed that population growth in the developing world was not the only threat to the planet's survival; rather, unsustainable consumption patterns in the industrialized world represented an equally grave concern. It was generally agreed that these countries must take the lead and act immediately to alter these destructive patterns and develop environmentally sound technologies.

European nations spoke of their growing concerns over the shrinking and ageing of their populations, which was linked to declining fertility rates, among other factors. ■

Planet Earth: An urban experience

Recognizing that the future of the planet will be an urban one, two new UN studies focus on the problems resulting from mankind's move to the city. *Population, Urbanization and Quality of Life*, prepared by the UN Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat) as its contribution to the Cairo Conference, points to some positive aspects of urbanization. That process might be the most powerful long-term factor in the spontaneous decrease in overall rates of population growth, since such growth generally falls as living conditions improve.

A second study, by the Population Division of the UN Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, is entitled *The Challenge of Urbanization: The World's Large Cities*. It contains profiles of more than 100 of the largest cities and highlights the wide diversity of experience of these cities with regard to demographic characteristics, economic structures, levels of infrastructure, and degrees of intervention in the planning process.

POPULATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The 20-year Programme of Action

The 16-Chapter Cairo Programme of Action reaffirms the connection among population growth, poverty, patterns of production and consumption and the environment. It states: "Progress in any component can catalyse improvement in others." The Programme emphasizes the need for harmonizing population trends and patterns of development in order to increase the standard of living of current populations, while at the same time not jeopardizing the needs of future generations.

It also emphasizes the imperatives of empowering women and guaranteeing choice in regard to family planning, and stresses that advancing gender equality and ensuring women's ability to control their own fertility are "cornerstones" of population and development programmes. The principle of "sovereignty", which guarantees that each country would decide for itself which programme recommendations are relevant to its conditions and needs, is also enshrined in the Programme.

Following a structure similar to that of "Agenda 21"—the action strategy adopted by the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development—the chapters and subchapters of the document are divided into sections called "Basis for action", "Objectives" and "Actions".

Preamble

The **Preamble** (Chapter I), which provides an overview of the issues, states that there is an emerging global consensus on the need for increased international cooperation concerning population in the context of sustainable development. The world's basic resources are being "depleted and environmental degradation is intensifying, driven by unsustainable patterns of production and consumption, unprecedented growth in population, widespread and persistent poverty and social and economic inequality", it says. The world population is currently estimated at 5.6 billion. During the remaining six years of this decade, nations "by their actions or inactions" will choose from among a range of alternative demographic futures. The low, medium and high variants of the UN population projections for the next 20 years range from 7.1 billion to 7.8 billion. Implementation of the Programme goals would result in world population growth at levels below the UN medium projection of 7.5 billion.

It points to encouraging signs such as major shifts in attitude among the world's people and their leaders in regard to reproductive health, family planning and population growth. In this connection, sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development would enhance the ability of countries to meet pressures of expected population growth; facilitate the demographic transition in countries where there is an imbalance between demographic rates and social, economic and environmental goals; and permit the balance and integration of the population dimension into other development-related policies. The Programme points to the shift of rural populations and the continued high levels of migration between countries as presenting serious new challenges.

The Programme recommends to the international community a set of objectives and goals, including: sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development; education, especially for girls; gender equity and equality; infant, child and maternal mortality reduction; and the provision of universal access to reproductive health services, including family planning and sexual health.

Basic Principles

Chapter II of the Programme puts forward 15 basic **principles** guiding Conference participants, many of which relate to the basic human rights to which every man, woman and child is entitled. They are in "conformity with universally recognized international human rights". Implementation of the Programme of Action is the sovereign right of each country, consistent with national laws and development practices, and should give full respect to religious and ethical values and cultural backgrounds of its people.

Chapters III-IV

Chapter III addresses the **interrelationships between population, sustained economic growth and sustainable development**. Among the suggested actions is that Governments establish institutional mechanisms to ensure that population factors are addressed by all agencies responsible for environmental, social and economic policies and programmes. Investment in human resource development, in accordance with national policy, must be given priority. Governments should support the objectives and actions agreed upon in "Agenda 21". Those included measures aimed at the eradication of poverty, with special attention to income-generation and employment strategies directed at the rural poor and those living within or on the edge of fragile ecosystems.

Chapter IV on **gender equality, equity and empowerment of women** calls on countries to establish mechanisms for women's equal participation and equitable representation at all levels of the political process and public life in each community and society, and to promote the fulfilment of their potential through education, skill development and employment, giving paramount importance to the elimination of poverty, illiteracy and ill health. Violence and discriminatory practices against them should be eliminated. Leaders at all levels of society must speak out and act forcefully against patterns of gender discrimination within the family, based on preference for sons. The equal participation of women and men in all areas of family and household responsibilities, includ-

ing family planning, child-rearing and housework, should be promoted and encouraged by Governments, according to the Programme.

Chapters V-VII

Chapter V, which addresses **the family, its roles, rights, composition and structure**, calls for policies and laws that better support the family, which is the basic unit of society and contributes to its stability, taking into account its various forms. Governments are called upon, in cooperation with employers, to provide and promote means to facilitate compatibility between labour force participation and parental responsibilities, and to support and develop appropriate mechanisms to assist families caring for children, the dependent elderly and family members with disabilities.

Chapter VI on **population growth and structure** deals with fertility, mortality and population growth rates, as well as the needs and rights of children and youth, elderly people, indigenous people and those with disabilities. The majority of the world's countries are converging towards a pattern of low birth and death rates, but are proceeding at different speeds, resulting in a world facing increasingly diverse demographic situations, the Programme states. Between 1995 and 2015, the population of the more developed regions is expected to increase by some 120 million, and the less developed regions by 1,727 million, it states. Countries are asked to give greater attention to the importance of population trends for development, and those that have not completed their "demographic transition" should take effective steps in this regard.

Chapter VII on **reproductive rights and reproductive health** acknowledges the right of "men and women to be informed and to have access to safe, effective, affordable and acceptable methods of family planning of their choice, as well as other methods of their choice for regulation of fertility which are not against the law". Reproductive health care is defined as the constellation of methods, techniques and services that contribute to reproductive health and well-being, through preventing and solving reproductive health problems, and includes sexual health. Reproductive rights rest on the recognition of the basic right of all couples and individuals to decide freely and responsibly the number, spacing and timing of their children, including the right of all to make decisions concerning reproduction free of discrimination, coercion and violence as expressed in human rights documents. The Programme calls upon all countries to strive to make accessible, through the primary health-care system, reproductive health to all individuals of appropriate ages as soon as possible and no later than the year 2015.

The subjects of family planning, sexually transmitted diseases and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) prevention, human sexuality and gender relations, and adolescents are also specifically covered. Governments and the international community are requested to use the full means at their disposal to support the principle of voluntary choice in family planning. The Programme states: "Governments should take appropriate steps to help women avoid abortion, which in no case should be promoted as a method of family planning." To meet the substantial increase in demand for contraceptives over the next decade and beyond, the international community is asked to move to establish an efficient coordination system and global, regional and subregional facilities for the procurement of contraceptive and other commodities essential to reproductive health programmes of developing countries and countries with economies in transition.

Support for integral sexual education and services for young people with the support and guidance of their parents and in line with the Convention on the Rights of the Child is called for, and the access of adolescents to information and services that help them understand their own sexuality should not be restricted by the programmes and attitudes of health-care providers. That should be combined with the education of young men to respect women's self-determination and share responsibility with women in matters of sexuality and reproduction.

Chapters VIII-X

Chapter VIII deals with **health, morbidity and mortality**, which encompasses subchapters on primary health care and the health-care sector; child survival and health; women's health and safe motherhood; and HIV infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS). All countries are called upon to make access to basic health care and health promotion the central strategies for reducing mortality and morbidity, and assign sufficient resources so that primary health services attain full coverage of the population. The Programme of Action includes a series of specific, quantitative goals as infant and child mortality, as well as maternal mortality and life expectancy at birth. The role of women as primary custodians of family health should be recognized and supported, according to the Programme. Through technology transfer, developing countries should be assisted in building their capacity to produce generic drugs for the domestic market and ensure the wide availability and accessibility of such drugs.

As to children, over the next 20 years, through international cooperation and national programmes, the gap between average infant and child mortality rates in the developed and the developing regions should be substantially narrowed. Similarly, countries should strive to effect significant reductions in maternal mortality by the year 2015 and should expand the provision of maternal health services in the context of primary health care. Governments and relevant intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations are urged to strenthen their commitment to women's health, deal with the health impact of unsafe abortion (defined as "a procedure for terminating an unwanted pregnancy either by persons lacking necessary

skills or in an environment lacking the minimal medical standards or both") as a major public health concern and to reduce the recourse to abortion through expanded and improved family planning services. Among actions recommended to prevent and reduce the spread of HIV infection are programmes which give priority to information, education and communication campaigns to raise awareness and emphasize behavioural change.

Population distribution, urbanization and internal migration are considered in Chapter IX, which puts forward solutions to the problem of "out-migration" from rural areas, as well as to related problems of the urban poor and internally displaced persons. Chapter X on **international migration** covers the situations of documented and undocumented migrants, as well as refugees, asylum-seekers and displaced persons. All Governments of countries of origin and of countries of destination are asked to make the option of remaining in one's country viable for all people. To that end, efforts to achieve sustainable economic and social development should be strengthened to ensure a better economic balance between developed and developing countries and countries with economies in transition. Efforts to defuse international and internal conflicts before they escalate should be increased. The text states that "all Governments, particularly those of receiving countries, must recognize the vital importance of family reunification and promote its integration into their national legislation in order to ensure the protection of the unity of the families of documented migrants".

Chapter XI-XIII

Chapter XI on **population, development and education** states that "75 per cent of illiterate persons in the world are women" and that the international community has a special responsibility to ensure that "all children receive an education of improved quality and that they complete primary school". The relationship between education and demographic and social changes is one of interdependence: while the relationship among education, marriage age, fertility, mortality and mobility is a close and complex one. Better education for women and girls contributes to greater empowerment of women, postponement of the age of marriage, a reduction in family size and an increase in the child survival rate.

All countries should further strive to ensure the complete access to primary school or an equivalent level of education by both girls and boys as quickly as possible and, in any case, before the year 2015, the Programme recommends. In all countries, information, education and communication activities concerning population and sustainable development issues must be strengthened.

The vital importance of implementing **technology, research and development** in population and development activities is underscored in Chapter XII, especially with regard to basic data collection, analysis and dissemination; reproductive health research; and social and economic research.

Under the heading of **national action**, Chapter XIII discusses the importance of Governments' formulation and implementation of national policies and plans of action, addressing population and development issues, as well as the necessary mobilization and allocation of resources to attain development objectives. The Programme estimates the funding required to meet the needs of developing countries and those with economies in transition for basic reproductive health services and population data collection at $17 billion in 2000; $18.5 billion in 2005; $20.5 billion in 2010 and $21.7 billion in 2015. Of these figures, one third would be provided by the international donor community and two thirds by the countries themselves.

Chapter XIV

Chapter XIV focuses on **international cooperation**, which is essential to implement population and development programmes. Experiences of successful cooperation between developing countries have dispelled the stereotypical view that donors are exclusively the developed countries, according to the Programme.

Issues such as international migration and AIDS, formerly considered as "matters of marginal concern" to a few countries, are currently high-priority issues in a large number of countries. However, recipients and donors must decide among a multitude of competing development priorities. The core objectives and central activities for international cooperation must be national capacity-building for population and development, and transfer of appropriate technology and know-how to developing countries, including countries with economies in transition. It is also vital to mobilize "significant additional financial resources".

The international community should strive to fulfill the agreed target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for overall official development assistance.

Chapters XV-XVI

Chapter XV details the potential of local, national and international **non-governmental organizations**, characterized as "important voices of the people", to play a key role in helping countries address the challenges of population and development. These groups should be integrated in the decision-making process and their contributions should be facilitated, according to the Programme. Likewise, the importance of the contributions of the private, profit-oriented sector are underscored, especially in regard to the production and delivery of quality contraceptive commodities and services, "with appropriate information and education, in a socially responsible, culturally sensitive, acceptable and cost-effective manner".

Chapter XVI outlines the **follow-up to the Conference** at the subregional, regional, national and international levels. ■

Continued efforts made to improve coordination, respond to change

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The high-level segment was held from 27 to 29 June.

With lively debate, fewer formal speeches, much reduced dispute and increased cooperation, the Economic and Social Council at its 1994 substantive session (27 June-29 July, New York), responded with effectiveness and efficiency to the call for change from the General Assembly.

The five-week meeting dealt expeditiously with a wide range of subjects, including humanitarian assistance, narcotics drugs, tropical diseases, human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), and operational activities, said Council President Richard Butler of Australia in concluding remarks.

As proof of its new streamlined efforts, the Council adopted 131 resolutions and decisions during the session, compared to 190 in 1993. The Council's pace had quickened by focusing on action and discussing each subject only once, wherever possible, he said.

A highlight of the session was an endorsement for establishing the Joint and Co-sponsored UN Programme on HIV/AIDS, to provide global leadership and an internationally coordinated response to the pandemic. In its resolution 1994/24, the Council stressed that the new Programme's activities at the country level should be given priority. The Joint Programme—which is co-sponsored by six UN organizations: UN Development Programme (UNDP), UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), UN Population Fund (UNFPA), the World Bank, and the World Health Organization (WHO), the Programme's administrator—is expected to be fully operational by January 1996.

The Council also asked the General Assembly to consider designating 1998 the International Year of the

Ocean *(resolution 1994/48)* and to proclaim the ten-year period beginning 1 January 1995 as the Decade for Human Rights Education *(1994/255)*.

Four segments

During the 1994 session, the 54-member Council followed a new four-segment format, as called for by Assembly resolution 48/162 on further measures for the restructuring and revitalization of the UN in the economic, social and related fields. The Assembly decided that the Council's Economic and Social Committees would be subsumed into the plenary, and the substantive session would consist of four segments: high-level; coordination; operational activities; and a general segment covering mainly social, humanitarian and human rights questions, and economic and environmental questions.

A three-day high-level segment was convened from 27 to 29 June, where the first intergovernmental discussion of the Secretary-General's "An Agenda for Development" took place. A week-long expert review of the new document took place in June at the World Hearings on Development.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, introducing the report on 28 June, said that development had meaning only if it had a true spirit of concern for a fairer distribution of wealth. "Development is part of our duty to future generations", he told the high-level gathering. "No one here can say in good conscience that the world today meets all the requirements of this duty. For too large a portion of humanity, life is just a dead end, and the future is nothing but a gulf of despair." The fiftieth anniversary of the UN, he added, must provide "the occasion to rethink and reinvent our policy towards economic and social development".

Among priorities identified were the needs for: concentration on people rather than on capital goods, roads or bridges; and an action-oriented programme, based on a spirit of partnership, with due attention to national specificities.

UN Photo 185452/I. Bu

Council President Butler of Australia

"In essence there should be a people-centred approach to development, with more invested in their education, health and welfare", Mr. Butler told the press. The Council had agreed, he said, that the UN "must reach political agreement about the importance of the question of development and the need for greater commitment to it".

The high-level segment, addressed by 62 Member States, also included a one-day policy dialogue on important developments in the world economy between Council members and heads of multilateral financial and trade institutions.

Operational activities

The operational activities segment (30 June-7 July) focused on preparatory work for the triennial policy review of the UN operational activities for development, to be conducted in 1995.

Regarding future operational activities segments, the Council decided that a principal theme or themes will be determined for primary consideration, while up to one day of the segment will be devoted to an informal exchange of views with field level representatives of the UN development funds and programmes, as well as specialized agencies *(1994/33)*.

By another decision, the high-level meeting of the segment in 1995 would consider as a principal theme the implementation of the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference on Population and Development. Other themes, including the outcome of the World Summit for Social Development, could also be considered *(1994/293)*.

At the coordination segment (8-13 July), discussion focused on coordinating UN policies and activities, especially those related to science and technology for development, and international cooperation against the illicit production, sale, demand, traffic and distribution of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances. Also considered was progress in the areas of humanitarian assistance and the struggle against malaria and diarrhoeal disease, particularly cholera.

On human rights . . .

José Ayala Lasso, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, in his address to the Council on 15 July, said that creation of his post was "a dream almost as old as the United Nations". Member States had endowed his office with "unprecedented moral and political authority to express the voice of the moral conscience of the humankind", he said. He based his actions on three principles: cooperation at all levels; a comprehensive and integrated approach to the promotion of human rights; and the participation of all actors in programmes, plans and projects to promote human rights at the international, national and local levels.

The Council endorsed continued work on the elaboration of a draft declaration on the right and responsibility of individuals, groups and organs of society to promote and protect universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms *(1994/11)*, and on a draft optional protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or

Degrading Treatment or Punishment *(1994/250)*.

The Council also approved: a mandate extension for the Working Group investigating cases of arbitrary detention; convening of a third international workshop on national institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights; enlarging the list of forensic experts to help international mechanisms in the field of human rights; creation of a monitoring mechanism to follow up on the question of the independence and impartiality of the judiciary; preparation of a report on the impunity of perpetrators of violations of human rights; and updating the list of states of emergency.

Expert seminars were to be organized on the human rights dimensions of population transfer and on specific economic, social and cultural rights. The Council also endorsed recommendations concerning seminars on extreme poverty and denial of human rights, as well as indigenous land rights and claims.

In another area, the Council approved appointment of a Special Representative to investigate the human rights situation in Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, and a Special Rapporteur to establish direct contact with the authorities and people of Zaire.

Mandates were extended for Special Rapporteurs, Special Representatives and independent experts dealing with: the right to adequate housing; elimination of harmful traditional practices affecting the health of women and children; and the human rights situations in El Salvador, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, the former Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan, Equatorial Guinea, Myanmar, and Cambodia.

On social development . . .

The Council asked the Secretary-General to continue to give high priority to monitoring world population trends and policies, and to work on a number of studies related to population issues *(1994/2)*.

Stressing the importance of addressing the economic and social aspects of tobacco production and consumption, the Secretary-General was commended for acting promptly to establish a focal point for multisectoral collaboration on the issue within the UN Conference on Trade and Development, as requested in 1993 *(1994/47)*.

In connection with the World Decade for Cultural Development (1988-1997), the Council invited States and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations to integrate cultural factors into all endeavours aiming at social and economic development *(1994/32)*.

The forty-ninth General Assembly was asked to adopt a resolution recognizing 1995 as the year commemorating the millennium of the Kyrgyz national epic—Manas—which is considered the source of the Kyrgyz language and literature, as well as the foundation of the cultural, moral, historical, social and religious traditions of the Kyrgyz people *(1994/49)*.

On women, vulnerable groups . . .

The Council decided that the Commission on the Status of Women shall examine in 1995 the feasibility of introducing the right of petition through the preparation of an optional protocol to the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women *(1994/7)*.

It approved the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on violence against women and reiterated the importance of maintaining the level of resources devoted to independent research and related training activities which are crucial to the situation of women.

The Secretary-General was urged to examine existing work practices within the UN system in order to remove direct or indirect discrimination against staff members with family responsibilities, as well as to further consider such issues as job sharing, flexible working hours, child-care arrangements, career-break schemes and access to training *(1994/6)*.

The Council authorized establishment of an open-ended inter-sessional working group to elaborate guidelines for a possible draft optional protocol to the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, on the sale of children, children prostitution and child pornography, as well as the basic measure needed for their prevention and eradication *(1994/9)*.

The Special Rapporteur on the protection of cultural and intellectual property of indigenous people was asked to expand and update her study, with a view to elaborating draft principles on the protection of the heritage of indigenous people *(1994/274)*. In addition, the Council approved establishment of a unit within the Centre for Human Rights to support activities related to indigenous people *(1994/247)*.

On crime, drug control . . .

The Council decided to transmit proposed guidelines on urban crime prevention to the Ninth UN Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, to be held from 24 April to 5 May 1995 in Tunisia *(1994/20)*. The proposals include taking a local approach to the problems and implementing an integrated action plan involving authorities at all levels.

Acknowledging the substantial role played by organized transnational crime in illegal migrant smuggling activities in many parts of the world, the Council urged States to take prompt steps to frustrate the objectives and activities of those who organize such smuggling, thus protecting would-be migrants from exploitation and loss of life *(1995/14)*.

The Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice was asked to act as a focal point for coordinating efforts to prevent and control organized transnational crime *(1994/12)*. The Secretary-General was requested to cooperate closely with Member

States, intergovernmental organizations and other entities to control the proceeds of crime *(1994/13)*.

Member States were asked to give priority to projects on crime prevention and criminal justice *(1994/22)* and consider the recommendations of the Ad Hoc Expert Group on More Effective Forms of International Cooperation against Transnational Crime, including Environmental Crime (7-10 December 1993, Vienna), which call for sanctions to protect the environment *(1994/15)*.

The Council stressed the need for further coordination and concerted action in translating into practice UN standards and norms in crime prevention and criminal justice *(1994/18)*. The Secretary-General was asked to consistently consider the importance of crime prevention and criminal justice activities in the context of peacekeeping operations and humanitarian assistance in armed conflicts *(1994/16)* and to seek comments on the desirability of adopting UN minimum rules for the administration of criminal justice as drafted by an expert commission on the subject *(1994/17)*.

The Council strongly recommended that the terms of reference of the Statute of the African Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders be updated to enable it to respond effectively to the needs of the region *(1994/21)*.

The Council approved establishment of an ad hoc intergovernmental advisory group and a working group on maritime cooperation related to drug control *(1994/232)*. States were urged to encourage customs authorities to identify movements of illicit drugs, particularly before export and while in transit *(1994/4)*.

The principles of simplicity and efficiency should be paramount in the compilation and dissemination of information on drugs and drug abuse, the Council recommended *(1994/3)*. Criteria and procedures for the affiliation with the UN of institutes or centres and the establishment of UN subregional institutes in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice were adopted *(1994/23)*.

On humanitarian assistance . . .

The Economic and Social Council endorsed the Yokohama Strategy for a Safer World, in particular, its Plan of Action adopted on 27 May by the World Conference on Natural Disaster Reduction, and decided to convene, not later than the year 2000, a second world conference on natural disaster reduction in order to carry out an overall review of the accomplishments of the Decade and map a strategy for continued disaster reduction activities into the twenty-first century *(1994/31)*.

States were urged to participate in implementing programmes for the recovery and reconstruction of the areas and sectors affected by the cyclones and floods which struck Madagascar in early 1994 *(1994/36)*. Non-Self-Governing Territories were encouraged to strengthen disaster preparedness and management institutions and policies *(1994/37)*.

The Council appealed for intensified assistance to the Government of Lebanon in its reconstruction and development efforts *(1994/35)*, and urged the international community to extend economic and social assistance to the Palestinian people, in cooperation with the Palestinian Liberation Organization, in order to assist in the development of the West Bank and Gaza *(1994/29)*.

The Council called for further information on the rapid response coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance within the UN system and on the shortcomings in the functioning of the Central Emergency Revolving Fund, as well as corrective measures required, before taking action on those issues *(1994/291)*.

On economic development . . .

The Council urged all Governments of Africa to continue to take measures for the sustained socio-economic development of the region *(1994/38)* and to recognize the vital importance of developing their information sector *(1994/42)*. It appealed to partners in the operational activities for the development of Africa to consider the priorities assigned to the development of natural resources by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) *(1994/39)*. The Council supported efforts of the Commission to provide its Multinational Programming and Operational Centres with the required critical staff and non-staff resources *(1994/40)*, and endorsed a plan of action for the coordination of the Second Industrial Development Decade for Africa and the Second Transport and Communications Decade for Africa *(1994/41)*.

The Council decided that the Commission on Transnational Corporations should become a subsidiary of the Trade and Development Board and be renamed the Commission on International Investment and Transnational Corporations. The work of the reoriented Commission should include promoting an exchange of views and providing guidance to the Secretariat related to international investment, transnational corporations, and the creation of an enabling environment for private sector and enterprise development *(1994/1)*.

On regional commissions . . .

The Council decided to readmit South Africa as a member of the ECA. In addition, it approved admission of Armenia into the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific *(1994/25)* and amended that Commission's terms of reference to include Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia and the Commonwealth of Northern Mariana Islands as members.

The Council recommended that the permanent headquarters of the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia be relocated to Beirut, Lebanon *(1994/43)*. It decided that the twenty-sixth session of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean should be held at San José, Costa Rica, in 1996 *(1994/287)*. ■

Draft declaration on indigenous peoples approved

The Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities has approved, after 10 years of arduous negotiations, a draft declaration proclaiming the rights and unique value of indigenous peoples.

Faced with an ever-lengthening list of minority-related concerns, spawned by growing ethnic strife, large population movements, and other humanitarian catastrophes in the world, the Subcommission adopted 50 resolutions and 19 decisions at its forty-sixth session (1-26 August, Geneva). Issues ranged from crises in Rwanda and the Middle East, the transition to democracy in South Africa, to the rights of women, children and UN staff, and the violation of human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world.

Chairman Judith Sefi Attah of Nigeria said that people around the globe were becoming aware of their rights and were accordingly drawing the attention of Governments to rights that were being denied.

A total of eight texts on the rights of indigenous people were approved, as a prelude to the launching on 10 December of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People. The 26-member Subcommission—the main subsidiary body of the Commission on Human Rights—welcomed the General Assembly's decision that the Decade's goal should be to strengthen international cooperation for the solution of problems faced by indigenous people in areas related to the environment, development, education and health. It recommended that the Decade's theme be: "Indigenous peoples: A new relationship; partnership in action".

The Subcommission also called for the International Day of Indigenous People to be observed every year on 9 August. The Secretary-General was asked to invite Governments and indigenous organizations to express their views concerning a permanent forum in the UN for indigenous people and recommended that the Centre for Human Rights organize a workshop on the matter.

The Subcommission also acted on the human rights situations in Albania, Iraq, Iran, Chad, Burundi, Togo, Guatemala, Haiti and Papua New Guinea.

> "The Decade's goal should be to help solve problems faced by indigenous peoples everywhere"

One text called upon Governments to prevent, combat and eliminate terrorism and cooperate in the fight against it. Respect for the rights of UN staff members and their families was urged in another text.

The dismantling of apartheid in South Africa was welcomed, but concern was expressed at the persistence of racist practices around the world. Expert members supported the convening of a world conference in 1997 to combat racism, racial and ethnic discrimination, xenophobia and other related contemporary forms of intolerance. The Subcommission also noted with grave concern that, despite the efforts of the international community, the principal objectives of two UN Decades to combat racism and racial discrimination had not been obtained. A third such Decade, beginning in 1993, was proclaimed by the General Assembly in resolution 48/91 of 20 December 1993.

The Subcommission demanded an immediate end to the massacres and sufferings imposed on the Rwandan people, citing "tardy and insufficiently effective intervention" by the international community. It also called for the quick and safe return of refugees to their homes and stressed that an international effort was needed to bring war criminals to trial and disarm the militias and extremists of the former Rwandan forces.

In a resolution adopted without a vote on the prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities, the Subcommission recommended the establishment of an intercessional working group to examine peaceful and constructive solutions to situations involving minorities.

Experts accorded high priority to the prevention of discrimination against women. The Subcommission approved a programme of action on traditional practices affecting the health of women and children. The human rights of women and the girl child, it decided, would be considered under every item of its agenda, as well as in all studies it undertook. Resolutions were also adopted on combatting contemporary forms of slavery and discrimination in the context of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV)/acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS).

Draft principles on human rights and the environment were welcomed. A new agenda item on the implications of UN humanitarian activities on the enjoyment of human rights was considered, and the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on that question was recommended. ■

FEATURE

The 'dish' that saves lives

by Elsa B. Endrst

The impressive, three-story-tall white structure stands tilted towards the sky in an inner courtyard of the UN Secretariat building, facing the East River. For a decade, hundreds of UN employees have passed by it every day on their way to the cafeteria, without realizing its crucial daily functions.

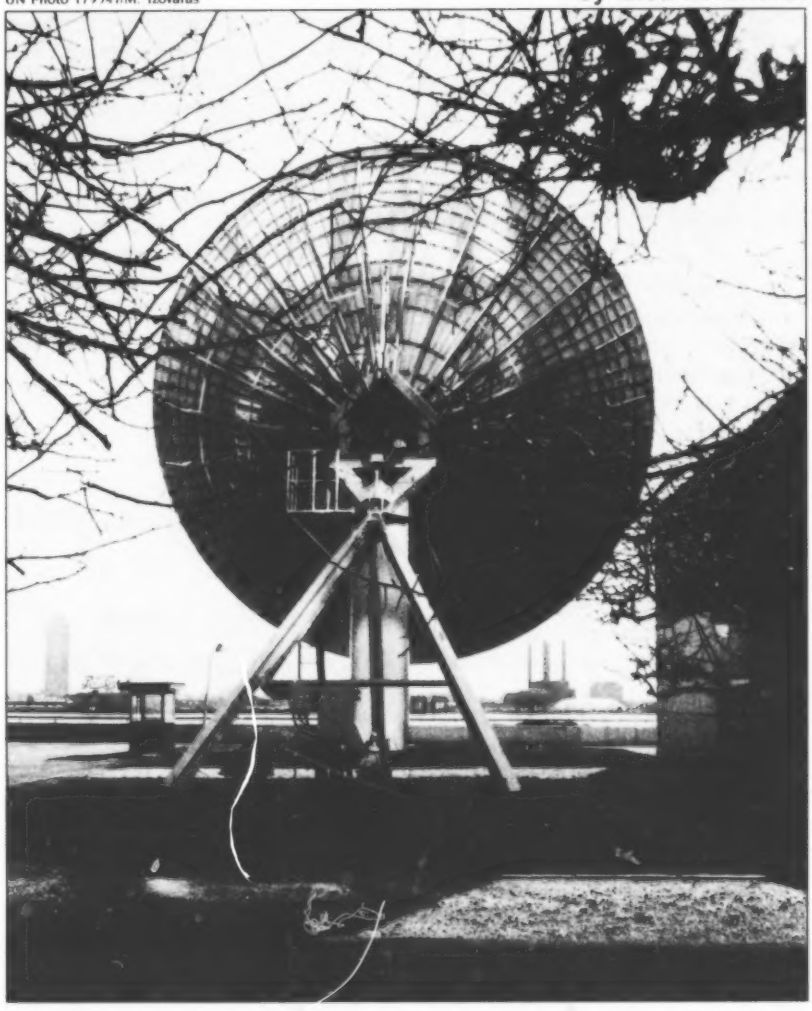
The Star Trek-like contraption is the UN's major satellite earth station—the linchpin of the Organization's worldwide telecommunications system.

"The dish"—as it is called—is a way for us to "communicate with our overseas offices to support humanitarian, peace-keeping and all of the business needs of the UN", says Neil Haley, Officer-in-Charge of the UN's Electronic Services Division.

It is part of a worldwide global communications network in place since 1983, with leased circuits from INTELSAT (International Telecommunications Satellite Organization). Operating 24 hours a day and used primarily by peace-keeping operations, the dish transmits telephone messages, facsimiles and other documents overseas and around the globe. Communications can thus be sent to and received from the most remote areas in which the UN works, places normally not served by sophisticated electronic equipment.

"We have been much better able to support operations such as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia, Mozambique and South Africa", Mr. Haley said. Peace-keeping, humanitarian and emergency relief missions have made a great deal of use of the satellite network, he said. "And we would like to see that kind of capability expanded so that there is always an easy and ready telecommunication." The system facilitates speedy decision-making, providing a way to obtain immediate authorization for urgently needed action.

UN Photo 179547/M. Tzovaras



The satellite dish at Headquarters in New York is a major link with overseas offices.

The UN leases circuits, using both satellite, land-based and undersea lines. This overall system provides almost all administrative telecommunications services between Headquarters and the five regional commissions, where receiving stations are either in place or proposed. The UN satellite earth stations have varying capacities, with diameters ranging from 1.8 to 11 metres.

UN Engineer Thomas Baxter explains that UN satellite communications, whether in the form of text, voice or data messages, are beamed through an INTELSAT satellite in space. UN equipment first processes the signal into radio form and then sends signals to the satellite. But because of the tremendous distances involved, the signal weakens along the way and must be amplified before it can be retransmitted earthward to a receiving station, where it is processed to be heard.

The system is both flexible and dynamic, Mr. Baxter suggests, capable of helping a single UN peace-keeper in a dangerous, isolated situation. For example, by using a small antenna

mounted on a peace-keeping van and a portable telephone serviced by the system, he or she can signal back to headquarters for immediate support. The system also provides security for UN civilians who often live in compounds while on field missions.

In the field, a portable dish can be set up in a hotel, on the back of a pick-up truck or outside an office, providing direct communication to a war zone, with no worry of wires being cut or messages being intercepted. Mr. Baxter says the only way to disturb transmissions would be to sabotage a dish. Portable dishes are frequently moved from one place to another to avoid such possibilities.

When an additional station is proposed for a new location, permission is needed from that country's Government. The International Telecommunications Union (ITU) also requires that agreement from neighbouring nations be obtained, to ensure that the UN communications system will not interfere with other transmissions.

Juan Carlos Brandt, Associate Spokesman for the Secretary-General, sees the UN telecommunications network as "a necessity for the UN to fulfil its mandate". Much of the information for the daily briefings of UN correspondents is received through that network, which serves as a two-way communications system for that busy office.

"We receive hundreds and hundreds of faxes every day in this office", Mr. Brandt says. The Department of Public Information sends information daily to centres and offices around the globe on the activities of the Secretary-General, the Security Council, the General Assembly and specialized agencies, among others. "So when the UN addresses a forum or speaks, it does so in one voice and in coordination with the rest of the system", he says.

Around-the-world dossier

The dossier of information from around the world, prepared daily for the Secretary-General, Mr. Brandt says, comprises documents and other information, sometimes of a confidential nature, received by coded cables.

When the Secretary-General travels, a communications officer accompanying him is armed with a portable dish, which resembles a four-legged hobby horse with an up-side down umbrella on its head. When pointed in the direction of the INTELSAT satellite, it transmits and receives information wherever the Secretary-General goes.

"We are comparable to any large corporation in the world that needs to remain apprised of latest developments. Politics and diplomacy require that information be received rapidly and effectively, he says.

The UN is planning to significantly upgrade its satellite telecommunications network, with the goals of providing high-quality, 24-hour-a-day telecommunication services throughout the UN system, reducing overall telecommunication expenditures, and eliminating duplication.

The proposed network initially is to consist of eight fixed satellite earth stations and a number of smaller earth stations to be added into the system as needed. The fixed stations will be located at UN offices in Addis Ababa, Amman, Bangkok, Nairobi and Santiago. The existing New York station will be upgraded to serve as the primary hub and house the network control centre. Another hub will be established in Europe, consisting of two stations—one on the INTELSAT Atlantic Ocean region satellite, the other on the Indian Ocean region satellite. The European hub would also serve as a collection centre for all UN European traffic.

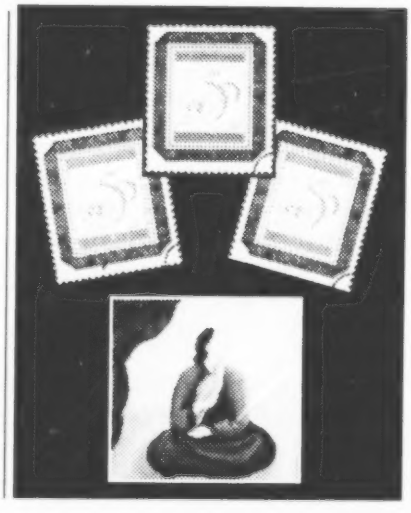
Engineer Baxter says the proposed satellite network will provide "major highways where you can build feeder roads to lead you anywhere you need to go". ■

STAMP CORNER

Featuring the official United Nations fiftieth anniversary emblem, the first set of UN stamps for 1995 is to be issued on 1 January. Based on a concept by UN Children's Fund staff member Joan Rainford, the stamps were designed by Rocco J. Callari of the UN Postal Administration (UNPA). Three stamps will be issued in denominations of 32 United States cents, 0.80 Swiss francs and 7 Austrian shillings.

Accompanying the anniversary stamp issue will be a World Federation of UN Associations first day cachet and a limited edition of hand-signed lithographs entitled "Full Moon Lady" by Korean-American artist Wonsook Kim Linton. The artwork depicts a woman holding a bird, both gazing at the moon. The artist's trademark curved lines symbolize reflection and outlook, at the heart of the 50th anniversary celebrations.

On 3 February 1995, UNPA will issue a set of three stamps and a souvenir card, in conjunction with the World Summit for Social Development, scheduled to take place in Copenhagen, Denmark from 6 to 12 March 1995. The abstract designs are by Austrian artist Master Hundertwasser. ■



Assisting the victims of war

'Nations will learn to work together only by actually working together'

by Harold Fruchtbaum

UNRRA/4575/Kubicki

Recipients of UNRRA aid, Poland, 1946.

The activity at the White House on 9 November 1943 was unusual even for wartime Washington. Ambassadors and other officials of the 44 Governments allied in the global conflict, then in its fifth year, were gathering in the high-ceiling East Room to sign the agreement, negotiated over two years, establishing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). Its mandate: to assist and resettle displaced victims of the war. Military advances on several fronts made the creation of UNRRA imperative if the people liberated from enemy control were to receive, in the words of the agreement, "aid and relief from their sufferings".

After the last signature, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who had signed on behalf of the United States, spoke to his guests seated around an elegant table in the East Room. "My friends", he said, "when victory comes, there can certainly be no secure peace until there is a return of law and order in the oppressed countries, until the peoples of these countries have been restored to a normal, healthy and self-sustaining existence."

"As in most of the difficult and complex things in life", he said, "nations will learn to work together only by actually working together. Why not? The nations have common objectives. It is, therefore, with a lift of hope, that we look on the signing of this agreement by all of the United Nations as a means of joining them together still more firmly."

Beginning the next day—10 November—and continuing through 1 December, UNRRA's policy-making Council, made up of one representative of each member, met in Atlantic City, New Jersey to launch the work of the infant agency. The Council appointed Herbert H. Lehman, adviser to President Roosevelt on war relief and rehabilitation, as Director-General. Working through committees, the Council pressed forward with planning.

Before the end of 1943, Iceland made the first contribution to UNRRA. The Headquarters Office opened in Washington on 1 January 1944, the European Regional Office in London on 1 February. In the months that followed, more than 40 missions, liaisons, and offices of procurement were established worldwide.

To pay for the programmes of UNRRA, countries that had not been occupied by enemy forces were expected to contribute the equivalent of 1 per cent of their annual national income. The assessment could be reduced if demands of war made it too burdensome. Contributions from Governments and non-governmental organizations during UNRRA's four-year life exceeded $3.8 billion.

With a broad mandate and limited resources, UNRRA wrestled with the problems of restoring transportation and distributing food, clothing, and medical and sanitation supplies in the war-ravaged countries of Europe, Asia and Africa. Displaced persons were assisted and resettled. Unaccompanied children received care during the search for surviving family members. UNRRA funded feeding programmes and health care clinics, as well as schools. It provided the wherewithal for resuming agriculture and industry. Voluntary relief agencies and UNRRA worked together.

UNRRA became a casualty of the cold war as cooperation between East and West disintegrated. The UNRRA Council in August 1946 reluctantly decided to liquidate the organization, a process completed in 1948. Circumstances beyond its control had limited what UNRRA could achieve. Nevertheless, UNRRA aided millions of people and set important precedents for the UN and its specialized agencies. ■

BOOKWATCH

Ethics and Agenda 21: Moral Implications of a Global Consensus

Edited by Noel J. Brown and Pierre Quiblier
UN Environment Programme (UNEP)
United Nations Publications, New York, 1994
187 pp. $9.95 Sales No. E.94.I.7 ISBN 92-1-100526-4

The philosophers, scientists, theologians and policy analysts whose 18 brief essays comprise *Ethics and Agenda 21* provide a spirited introduction to the moral implications of global sustainability. Professor David Rotherberg, for example, observes "there is really no underlying philosophy to Agenda 21 at all", meaning "there is no attempt to define the basic terms used as the foundation for the policy outlined". He asks probing questions and suggests approaches to the answers. Jose Dualok Rojas, a leader in the movement for the rights of indigenous peoples, is critical of the Earth Summit and Agenda 21 for failing to take seriously "our sound recommendations concerning environment and development". Broad in scope and provocative, this book is what UNEP's Dr. Brown, in his introduction, correctly calls "a seminal work."

Blinding Weapons

Edited by Louise Doswald-Beck
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Geneva, 1993
371 pp. ISBN 2-88145-048-2

The use of lasers in armed conflict for range finding and the destruction of sensor systems is well established. Small hand-held weapons designed to blind combatants were field tested in 1990, if not earlier. Concerned about the development and spread of anti-personnel weapons that produce permanent blindness, the ICRC hosted four meetings of experts in the period 1989-1991 to consider the medical, psychological, legal and policy aspects of this new technology. *Blinding Weapons*, which brings together the reports of those meetings, will long serve the public and the community of experts on international humanitarian law as the handbook of the subject.

Australia and the New World Order: Evatt at San Francisco, 1945

W. J. Hudson
Canberra, The Australian National University, 1993
159 pp. ISBN 0-7315-1538-2

Herbert Vere Evatt, one of Australia's more controversial political figures, served as Attorney-General, Minister for External Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister in Labor governments through the 1940s. In April 1945, Mr. Evatt went to San Francisco representing Australia at the UN Conference on International Organization to finalize a charter for the proposed UN. Historian W. J. Hudson, who serves as Editor of Historical Documents in Canberra's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, concludes in his insightful and lively study that "Evatt at San Francisco achieved for Australia a standing in international politics previously absent. At San Francisco, Australia established itself as a participant in the international mainstream, and the role created for Australia by Evatt in 1945 was continued into the peace. . . ." In showing how Evatt accomplished this, at times vexing the great powers, Dr. Hudson makes a significant contribution to the historiography of the UN and Australian foreign affairs.

AIDS and the Demography of Africa

UN Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis
United Nations Publications, New York, 1994
72 pp. $17.50 Sales No. E.94.XIII.11 ISBN 92-1-151268-9

In those 15 countries of sub-Saharan Africa with over 1 per cent of the adult population HIV infected, the potential demographic effects grow more ominous. The analyses and country profiles in *AIDS and the Demography of Africa* document the increasing mortality. By the year 2005, 9 million additional deaths are projected in sub-Saharan Africa, and the average life expectancy at birth will be 6.5 years less than it would have been without the AIDS epidemic. With women experiencing high rates of infection, the care of children and the elderly are being affected. The disruption of agriculture and the additional burden on health care systems deepen the crisis. The authors conclude that "the strain induced by the AIDS epidemic will present difficult challenges" for sub-Saharan Africa and the rest of the world."

Yearbook of the United Nations 1988 Volume 42

UN Department of Public Information
United Nations, New York, 1994
Dordrecht, The Netherlands, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers
1091 pp. $150 Sales No. E.93.I.100 ISBN 0-7923-2716-0

In his 1988 Report on the Work of the Organization, Secretary-General Pérez de Cuéllar wrote: "A primary fact of the present world situation is that, while the power to destroy the Earth is concentrated in a few hands, the power to make and strengthen peace is widely dispersed." The 1988 *Yearbook* amply demonstrates the truth of this observation, with accounts of the Geneva Accords on Afghanistan, the cease-fire and negotiations that ended the Iran-Iraq war, and the movement towards the peace settlement in Cambodia—each involving the UN. Written to the point, well-referenced and reviewing the complex spectrum of UN affairs, the *Yearbook* remains irreplaceable.

Reviewed by Prof. Harold Fruchtbaum
Columbia University, New York

Concern expressed over Cambodian situation

King Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, in a meeting with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Beijing, China on 15 September, expressed concern over the activities of the Khmer Rouge, the slow pace of reconstruction in Cambodia, and the need to maintain international human rights standards, especially in the area of press freedom. They also discussed the status of negotiations to free three Western hostages held by the Khmer Rouge. Mr. Boutros-Ghali on 26 August appealed on humanitarian grounds for the unconditional release of the hostages—David Wilson of Australia, Jean-Michel Barquet of France, and Mark Slater of the United Kingdom—who had been abducted on 26 July. The King briefed the Secretary-General on his efforts to get his Government to repeal discriminatory legislation aimed at ethnic Vietnamese in Cambodia.

Crisis in Yemen continues

Security Council members on 18 July agreed that the cessation of fighting in the Republic of Yemen, "in itself, will not bring a lasting solution to the crisis in that country and that it is essential to start a process of political dialogue between the parties". Members voiced concern at the humanitarian situation. A UN inter-agency assessment mission visited Yemen from 21 to 30 July, after which a consolidated appeal was launched on 16 August to meet the country's most urgent humanitarian needs.

Indian Ocean Committee recommends new declaration

A new declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace—one that would strike a "realistic balance between concerns of regional and extraregional States"—has been recommended by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean at its 1994 session (11-15 July, New York). The General Assembly in 1993 had called for new alternative approaches to implement the 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, with a view to reaching early agreement on strengthening cooperation in the region. The Ad Hoc Committee suggested it could become a forum for considering confidence-building measures and non-military aspects of security.

Committee Chairman Stanley Kalpagé of Sri Lanka said the rapidly changing international situation was becoming evident in the Indian Ocean as well, and the Committee could "not ignore these winds of change"; thus, "cooperation, instead of confrontation", was needed. The presence of some major maritime users of the Indian Ocean at the session encouraged the Committee to "pursue, with enthusiasm, the goals of achieving peace, stability and security" in the region.

UN Photo 185590/J. Isaac

Efforts to ensure the success of the United Nations 50th anniversary in 1995 are in full swing. Shown *above*, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at a meeting at Headquarters, discussing ways to best observe UN50. A year-long programme of worldwide activities and projects on the theme, "We the Peoples of the United Nations . . . United for a Better World", will culminate in a special meeting of the General Assembly, scheduled for 22 to 24 October 1995 in New York, with other important celebrations planned for San Francisco, Vienna, Geneva and other cities. Among the events are festivals, concerts and exhibits; a global teach-in; and publication of an illustrated book of wishes from children around the world. Inquiries can be directed to the Fiftieth Anniversary Secretariat, S-3161, United Nations, New York, NY 10017.

World Court: Two deaths

A former President of the International Court of Justice (ICJ), Jose Maria Ruda of Argentina, died on 7 July. Mr. Ruda had served on various ICJ Chambers and as a judge ad hoc. He had been President of the Iran-United States Claims Tribunal, President of the ILO Administrative Tribunal, and President of the International Law Commission.

Another World Court Judge, Nikolai Tarassov of the Russian Federation, died on 28 September. Mr. Tarassov was elected to the Court in 1985, and his current term of office was to expire in February 1997. The Security Council and the General Assembly are scheduled to hold elections on 26 January 1995 to fill the vacancy.

World Commission on Culture and Development adopts draft

The World Commission on Culture and Development, chaired by former UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, held a fourth meeting (30 June-2 July, Paris) at the headquarters of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), adopting a draft preliminary outline of its report. Set up by UNESCO in conjunction with the UN and composed of leading figures who participate in a personal capacity, the independent Commission was to submit to the General Conference of UNESCO and the UN General Assembly by the end of 1995 a world report on culture and development and a plan of action with "concrete, pragmatic and practical" recommendations to provide guidance for policymaking in the spheres of both development and culture.

Draft agreement on straddling fish stocks produced

The UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks concluded its fourth session (15-26 August, New York) by producing a 48-article draft agreement to pave the way for the long-term conservation and sustainable use of high seas fisheries. It addresses such issues as unregulated fishing, excessive fleet size, insufficiently selective fishing gear, lack of cooperation among States, and resolution of disputes. The agreement attempts to uphold the sovereign rights of coastal States to exploit and conserve the living marine resources in zones under their national jurisdiction while maintaining the right of all States to engage in fishing on the high seas. To that end, the draft calls for the compatibility of measures applied in these areas and also provides for dispute settlement procedures. Chairman Satya N. Nandan of Fiji said the participants' concurrence on the need for a "precautionary approach" to the conservation and management of fish stocks had been the session's most important development. This meant that States fishing in the high seas would share data on their activities, so that management of resources could take place on a sound, scientific basis aimed at setting stock-specific minimum standards. However, disagreement still remained in some areas, including on the form of the final instrument.

UN Photo 185060/E. Schneider

Chairman Nandan

Strengthen international cooperation for maritime management training

A steering committee met in Geneva on 7 and 8 July to advise on the further development of TRAINMAR—a technical cooperation programme in 46 countries, designed by the UN Conference on Trade and Development to train policymakers and senior managers in the field of shipping, ports and multimodal transport, and to help developing countries establish their own training programmes for middle and junior levels of management.

Workshop on security through space technology held

A workshop on enhancing social, economic and environmental security through space technology was held in Graz, Austria (12-15 September), organized jointly by the UN and the Austrian Government. Some 100 space technology experts from four continents participated, aiming to identify specific applications of space technology for helping countries safeguard their environment and efficiently manage and develop their natural resources. Participants also identified applications that could be used by developing countries to exploit natural resources and prevent and ameliorate environmental damage.

1969 Tonnage Convention becomes fully operative

The International Convention on Tonnage Measurement of Ships, 1969, became fully operative on 18 July—12 years after it entered into force. The Convention was adopted at a conference held under the auspices of the International Maritime Organization (IMO) to introduce a universally recognized system for measuring the tonnage of ships. In merchant shipping, tonnage is basically a measurement of the cubic capacity or volume of the ship, which gives an indication of its cargo-carrying capacity. The tonnage is used as a basis for assessing harbour and canal dues, pilotage fees and other costs. Although all existing systems go back to a method devised in 1854 by George Moorsom of the British Board of Trade, considerable differences exist between them and it is quite possible for sister ships to have very different tonnages, simply because they fly different flags. The 1969 Convention was intended to eliminate these anomalies by establishing an internationally approved system.

UNCTAD Trade and Development Board concludes session

The Trade and Development Board of the UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) on 30 September adopted "agreed conclusions", submitted by President Richard A. Pierce of Jamaica, on all major topics discussed during the Board's autumn session (19-30 September, Geneva). The Board also celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of UNCTAD and unanimously adopted a political declaration. It also began its analysis and assessment of the outcome of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations, as requested in the Cartagena Commitment.

Model programmes on drug, alcohol problems reviewed

Managers from more than 40 companies in five countries conducted a mid-term review (4-6 September, Vienna) of model programmes, set up jointly by three UN agencies to help prevent drug and alcohol-related problems in the workplace. Participants assessed preliminary results and mapped plans for further implementation of the cross-cultural programmes, being field tested in Egypt, Mexico, Namibia, Poland and Sri Lanka. The International Labour Organisation, the World Health Organization and the UN International Drug Control Programme designed the programmes.

Human Rights Committee meets

The 18-member Human Rights Committee, at its fifty-first session (4-29 July, Geneva), examined reports from Azerbaijan, Cyprus, Italy, Jordan, Slovenia, Togo and Burundi on implementation of the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

COMING UP

A preview of some important UN conferences and events

January–March 1995

New York

16-27 January	Preparatory Committee for the World Summit for Social Development, 3rd session
16 January-3 February	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, 14th session
23-27 January	Preparatory Committee for the 1995 Conference of the States Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, 4th session
21 February-2 March	Population Commission, 28th session
13-17 March	UN Congress on Public International Law
15 March-4 April	Commission on the Status of Women, 39th session
20-31 March	Committee on Non-Governmental Organizations

Geneva

9-27 January	Committee on the Rights of the Child, 8th session
30 January-10 March	Commission on Human Rights, 51st session
30 January-7 April	Conference on Disarmament, first part
27 February-17 March	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 46th session

Vienna

6-17 February	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—Scientific and Technical Subcommittee, 32nd session
14-23 March	Commission on Narcotic Drugs, 38th session
27 March-13 April	Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space—Legal Subcommittee, 34th session

Other Locations

20-24 February	INSTRAW—Board of Trustees, 15th session, Santo Domingo
27 February-17 March	International Seabed Authority—Assembly, 1st session, second part, Kingston
6-12 March	World Summit for Social Development, Copenhagen
28 March-7 April	Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change, Berlin

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Presidents of the General Assembly

NAME	COUNTRY	YEAR
1. Paul-Henri Spaak	Belgium	1946
2. Oswaldo Aranha	Brazil	1947
3. H. V. Evatt	Australia	1948
4. Carlos P. Romulo	Philippines	1949
5. Nasrollah Entezam	Iran	1950
6. Luis Padilla Nervo	Mexico	1951
7. Lester B. Pearson	Canada	1952
8. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	India	1953
9. Eelco N. van Kleffens	Netherlands	1954
10. José Maza	Chile	1955
11. Prince Wan Waithayakon	Thailand	1956
12. Sir Leslie Munro	New Zealand	1957
13. Charles Malik	Lebanon	1958
14. Víctor Andrés Belaúnde	Peru	1959
15. Frederick H. Boland	Ireland	1960
16. Mongi Slim	Tunisia	1961
17. Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	Pakistan	1962
18. Carlos Sosa Rodríguez	Venezuela	1963
19. Alex Quaison-Sackey	Ghana	1964
20. Amintore Fanfani	Italy	1965
21. Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	Afghanistan	1966
22. Corneliu Manescu	Romania	1967
23. Emilio Arenales Catalán	Guatemala	1968
24. Angie E. Brooks	Liberia	1969
25. Edvard Hambro	Norway	1970
26. Adam Malik	Indonesia	1971
27. Stanislaw Trepczynski	Poland	1972
28. Leopoldo Benites	Ecuador	1973
29. Abdelaziz Bouteflika	Algeria	1974
30. Gaston Thorn	Luxembourg	1975
31. H. S. Amerasinghe	Sri Lanka	1976
32. Lazar Mojsov	Yugoslavia	1977
33. Indalecio Liévano	Colombia	1978
34. Salim A. Salim	United Republic of Tanzania	1979
35. Rüdiger von Wechmar	Federal Republic of Germany	1980
36. Ismat T. Kittani	Iraq	1981
37. Imre Hollai	Hungary	1982
38. Jorge E. Illueca	Panama	1983
39. Paul J. F. Lusaka	Zambia	1984
40. Jaime de Piniés	Spain	1985
41. Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	Bangladesh	1986
42. Peter Florin	German Democratic Republic	1987
43. Dante M. Caputo	Argentina	1988
44. Joseph Nanven Garba	Nigeria	1989
45. Guido de Marco	Malta	1990
46. Samir S. Shihabi	Saudi Arabia	1991
47. Stoyan Ganev	Bulgaria	1992
48. Samuel R. Insanally	Guyana	1993
49. Amara Essy	Côte d'Ivoire	1994

General Assembly Presidents normally preside over special and emergency special sessions of the world body during their tenure. The exceptions were: José Arce of Argentina, who presided over the second special session in 1948, and Rudecindo Ortega of Chile, who presided over the first and second emergency special sessions held in 1956.

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